

SIXTY-FIRST
ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

HAWAIIAN
HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FOR THE YEAR
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HONOLULU, HAWAII
PUBLISHED, 1953

The scope of the Hawaiian Historical Society as specified in its charter is "the collection, study, preservation and publication of all material pertaining to the history of Hawaii, Polynesia and the Pacific area."

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WILLIAM HOAPILI KAAUWAI: A HAWAIIAN IN HOLY ORDERS

ANDREW FOREST MUIR

ONLY ONE HAWAIIAN ABORIGINE has ever received holy orders in the Anglican Communion, despite the ninety years that have elapsed since the establishment of the Missionary District of Honolulu. He was ordained in 1864, two years after the arrival of Bishop Staley, the first English bishop. Both of the English bishops of Honolulu were anxious to recruit a native clergy, but neither was successful. The solitary Hawaiian who overcame the educational handicap was William Hoapili Kaauwai, and he received only the diaconate, or the rank of deacon—the lowest order among the clergy of the Anglican Church.

William Hoapili Kaauwai was the son of Zorobabela Kaauwai and a chiefess, apparently a woman of the family of Hoapili, a high chieftain of the Island of Maui and trusted advisor of Kamehameha I. The elder Kaauwai was born about 1806, before the period in which Americans and Europeans in great numbers settled in Hawaii. Because he grew up at a time when the islands were relatively unaffected by Western civilization, he was considered, in later years, as something of an expert on the old Hawaiian culture. Although not a chief himself, he belonged to the "old class of chief's right-hand men." As such, he was a retainer of and an assistant to Hoapili during the latter's governorship of Maui. Apparently he bettered his position by his marriage. At least he soon came to occupy a number of political offices. For a while he served as judge of the circuit court¹ and then as a member, from 1846 to 1850, of the Board of Commissioners to Quiet Land Titles.² Later he sat for four terms in the House of Representatives of the Kingdom.³ His wife bore him four children, three sons who reached maturity and a daughter who died in infancy.⁴ He acquired property, much of it taro patch land on Maui; and he became successful as a farmer, receiving first prize for his taro and second prize for his bananas at a fair sponsored by the Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society in 1851.⁵ He was regarded as "a man of sage experience, great moderation, and well known liberality,"⁶ although he was said to have held "peculiar views." He died at Makawao, Maui, August 8, 1856.⁷

William Hoapili Kaauwai was born in 1835.⁸ He received a good primary and secondary education, probably at some Congregational school, but the details of his schooling are lacking. He apparently was baptized into the Congregational Church, for in 1861 he was one of the trustees of the Wailuku Congregational Church.⁹ On July 1, 1856, in Honolulu, he was married to Mary Ann Kiliwehi,¹⁰ who was described as a tall woman with an imperfect knowledge of English.¹¹ They had no children. Kaauwai stood for election as

representative of the Wailuku, Maui, district in January, 1862, and he defeated his opponent by a vote of 510 to 286.¹² He took his seat on May 1 and was soon appointed to four standing committees and to one select committee.¹³ Following the example of his father and brother, he rapidly became known as an eloquent orator.¹⁴

Apparently Kaauwai's service in the Legislature brought him to the attention of King Kamehameha IV, who appointed him aide-de-camp with rank of major in the Household Guards.¹⁵ Upon the arrival in 1862 of the Anglican mission under Dr. Thomas Nettleship Staley, first bishop of Honolulu, Kaauwai, like the King, became interested in the Church. As aide-de-camp to the King, he carried a banner at the latter's confirmation¹⁶ and accompanied the King to the Island of Hawaii on a trip designed to determine whether a mission should be planted at Kona.¹⁷ Very soon, Dr. Staley appointed him a catechist and licensed him to preach. For a while he assisted the Reverend William Richard Scott, at Lahaina, Maui.¹⁸ At this time, Dr. Staley described him as a "man of high Character, imposing presence, an English Scholar and excellent preacher,"¹⁹ who expounded Holy Scripture with "wonderful power and eloquence."²⁰ Kaauwai immediately began studying for holy orders, and Dr. Staley petitioned the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel for funds with which to pay his stipend when he should be ordained.²¹ In May, 1864, there was a vacancy in the circuit judgeship of Maui, and Kaauwai was suggested for the position.²² Apparently he was offered the job, but he refused it.²³ Shortly afterwards, however, he accepted a position as district magistrate in Maui.²⁴ Dr. Staley's applications to the S.P.G. were fruitless, but he decided to ordain Kaauwai and to find his salary elsewhere.²⁵ The ordination of Kaauwai to the diaconate was celebrated in Lahaina on September 25, 1864.²⁶ Thereafter, Kaauwai remained at Lahaina, assisting the Reverend George Mason, who had succeeded Scott. Not only did he assist with the native services, but also he read services in English for the English-speaking congregation.²⁷ In May, 1865, Kaauwai preached in English at a service of the English-speaking congregation of the temporary cathedral in Honolulu. This, according to a newspaper, was the first time that a native Hawaiian had preached in English to a foreign congregation. The effort was eminently successful, for it was said that the "sermon was delivered with clearness, solemnity, and proper emphasis, and evidently made a most favorable impression on all who heard it."²⁸

King Kamehameha IV died in 1863, and his widow, the Dowager Queen Emma, decided to visit England in order to solicit money with which to erect in Honolulu a cathedral to the memory of her husband. She selected Kaauwai as chaplain and his wife as lady in waiting. The royal party left Honolulu on May 6, 1865,²⁹ and went by ship to Panama, crossed the isthmus by railroad, and then reboarded ship for Southampton, where it arrived on July 13.³⁰ During a five months' visit in England, Queen Emma and her entourage traveled extensively. Both the Queen and Kaauwai addressed a number of meetings called for the purpose of creating interest in and attracting financial support to the Queen's plans. Kaauwai addressed one meeting at Brighton in August, 1865, and a spectator wrote that "though he pronounced English very well, yet he

seemed to have a difficulty in fitting his words to his ideas."³¹ It would also seem that he addressed a missionary meeting in William John Butler's parish at Wantage.³² During a four-day visit to Alfred Lord Tennyson's home at Farringford, Kaaui and his wife sang Hawaiian songs for their host. Tennyson was particularly impressed by a *mele* in honor of Queen Emma's deceased son.³³

On December 5, 1865, Queen Emma and her party left for the Continent, where they spent some time in Italy and on the Riviera.³⁴ At Florence, Kaaui received the Queen's permission to return home. On April 6, 1866, Queen Emma wrote from Florence to Bishop Staley as follows:

"You will have seen Hoapili and been surprised at his sudden appearance before you can read this. I write in haste to tell you some of the reasons why he starts so suddenly for home before my own departure. Both he and I are quite in unison concerning this movement I have made. He is, and has been for a long time, very anxious to be at home working, instead of doing nothing but traveling about all these months, and when Mr. Ibbotson's letter arrived stating he was coming back to England and one from the Masons telling of the King's anxiety to have a church and school opened at Wailuku, I felt it his duty to return, especially as there will be one less in your staff of Clergy, from Mr. Ibbotson's return. So he goes back for that object and be once more under the immediate influence of his Church which he has felt the want of for some time. His trials and failings overcome him at times and he says it is because he is idling, and has nothing to occupy him so is very strong in desiring to be at home and in its bosom (the Church's) again. He and I quite agree on all this. He leaves me at my wish. He will tell you more about himself, of me, and all about our travels . . ."³⁵

Somewhat later, at Turin, Kaaui received the Queen's permission for his wife to accompany him. On April 23, 1866, the Kaauwais were in London, where he wrote to Charles C. Harris, the Minister of Finance in Honolulu, as follows:

"My Dear Sir: You will be surprised to learn that the Queen has consented not only to my coming home, but my wife also; and further to learn that instead of coming home by the same way we came out, we are taking a rather long round-about, and slow way toward home, that we may be able to see all we possibly can of different countries. I am not quite sure I shall have another favorable opportunity to write you, as we are about to leave England for the East day after tomorrow (April 25, Wednesday)."³⁶

They took passage aboard the ship *Norwood* and arrived in Auckland, New Zealand, on August 11, 1866.³⁷ Kaaui's purpose in visiting New Zealand was to encourage the emigration of Maoris to Hawaii. At the time the Maoris were engaged in a war with the British, and Kaaui thought that under the circumstances they might be willing to move to Hawaii, where the government was in the hands of fellow Polynesians.*

* Kaaui does not appear to have made clear to Queen Emma that he proposed to return home by way of New Zealand; nor is it clear that Kamehameha V or Mr. Harris understood or authorized this trip or its purposes. [Ed.]

After some delays, Kaauwai apparently was accepted by the Maoris, for sixteen years later, in 1882, there appeared in the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* an account of his negotiations, probably written by the then-editor of the newspaper, Walter Murray Gibson. The account reads as follows:

. . . in 1866 the Hon. Wm. Hoapili Kaauwai went to New Zealand to open a negotiation for the emigration of Maoris to the Hawaiian Archipelago. . . . He discussed with the editor of this journal** in 1865, the scheme of establishing communication between the two cognate branches of the Malayo-Polynesian family, between the peoples of the Hawaiian and New Zealand Archipelagoes. Kaauwai had this great object in view, when he and his lady, Kiliwehi Hoapili, sailed from their native islands in company with Her Majesty Queen Dowager Emma, who was proceeding on a visit to the Court of England. This young Chief and his wife, after receiving distinguished attention in Europe, sailed from London on board the ship Norwood for New Zealand, and arrived in Auckland, August, 1866. They proceeded at once to visit the Maori Chiefs of the North Island, or Ika na Maui and were entertained by the Prince Tamehana, and other high Maori Chiefs. Hoapili found little difficulty in carrying on conversation with his Maori friends. He was an enlightened man and a zealous student, and readily adapted his Hawaiian-Maori language to the New Zealand Maori language. His views in regard to Maori migration to Hawaii were cordially entertained by Tamehana. Many patriotic Maoris objected to the scheme, deeming it almost a sacrilege to abandon their fatherland, but a large number took another view, saying that their country was virtually lost to them; the whites, who so far outnumbered them, were in complete possession of it; but that in Hawaii, an ancient sister land, there were their own blood and lineage, ruled by a Maori-Polynesian King. After a time Hoapili wrote home to Minister Hutchinson and to the editor of this journal** that he was prepared to lead an emigration of several thousand Maoris, if the Hawaiian Government would enable him to carry out his negotiation. But the King—Kamehameha V—had taken umbrage at the action of Hoapili. He had proceeded as a volunteer, independent Commissioner, and it was supposed would arrogate to himself too much consequence in case he should return to Hawaii with a colony of Maoris under his guidance and influence. So this volunteer Hawaiian Negotiator received letters from home disapproving of his independent action, and warning him not to attempt to promote any migration of Maoris without the full sanction of the Government of his country. Hoapili was undoubtedly indiscreet in his action in this matter, and reasonably provoked the objection of his Sovereign. It was understood when he set out from Hawaii that he would proceed to New Zealand for information solely, and by a favorable report induce the Government to take some action, but he was so much affected by the sympathy and good will of the Maoris and their eager desire to become compatriots with him in his own country, that he took in hand at once a plan of emigration, which would, as he gave assurance in his letters, be carried out entirely at the expense of the Maoris themselves. However, Hoapili had to dismiss his plan for the time . . .³⁸

* * *

** These references are undoubtedly to Walter Murray Gibson who was editor of the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* in 1882, and not to Henry M. Whitney who was editor in 1865. [Ed.]

Kaauwai did not fail to inform the bishop of Auckland of his presence in his diocese, but it is impossible to determine whether he sought a cure. Both Kamehameha V and Dr. Staley wrote urging his return.³⁹

The Congregationalists in Hawaii were ever ready to criticize the Missionary Bishopric, and they did not abstain from using Kaauwai's absence as a handle. The *Maile Quarterly*, organ of a Congregational society, wrote that the Kaauwais' "absence requires some explanation, as all sorts of vague rumors are being circulated respecting them."⁴⁰ A secular paper whose editor, Henry M. Whitney, was a Congregationalist protagonist, went even further:

. . . Rev. Mr. Hoapili and wife . . . for some cause, not yet made public, were turned adrift on the charities of the cold and unfeeling world. It seems very strange that they should have gone to that distant colony, almost as far from their home as England is. It will give rise to various speculations. Perhaps they were inveigled on board some emigrant ship, bound they knew not and cared not where. Or, perhaps, they were induced by the Bishop of Oxford (Samuel Wilberforce) to emigrate as Missionaries of the new Reformed Catholic Church to convert the *Maories* of that distant colony. Strange things do sometimes happen in this world, and not the least so are some of the denouements of this Mission. The story of the trials of this unhappy couple, and the causes that led to their separation from the embassy, will cause the ears to tingle, and shame the pseudo-philanthropists of the Hawaiian people, whenever they are made public. Why do not the Ministers give *some* statement of this affair, when they are so pushed for news to fill their organ? Are they afraid to publish the facts? If not, let us hear the truth.⁴¹

This account appeared a full month after Queen Emma's return to Honolulu. The Ministry made no response, as indeed no response was required, but the government newspaper did publish that portion of Kaauwai's letter to Mr. Harris quoted earlier in the present paper, together with certain facts of the case including the statement: "Mr. Harris was puzzled at this [reference to Kaauwai's plan to leave England for the East], for he did not imagine that they were actually going East from London, and supposed they were really going to America, using the word east as meaning the Eastern States of the Union, locating himself mentally at the Hawaiian Islands in writing of going East . . . thus carrying out an earnest wish which Mr. Hoapili had often expressed to his friends, of visiting the southern islands of the Pacific Ocean, and seeing the different families of the Polynesian race in their several homes . . ."⁴²

The Kaauwais left Auckland on June 15, 1867, aboard the bark *Kate* scheduled for San Francisco,⁴³ where they boarded the *D. C. Murray* which put them in Honolulu on September 3.⁴⁴ Six days later they took ship for Maui.⁴⁵

Bishop Staley had sailed for England prior to Kaauwai's return to Honolulu. Kamehameha V wrote the bishop on September 24, 1867: "Mr. Hoapili & wife arrived here some fortnight ago. He called but I did not see him. I do not know what he proposes to do."⁴⁶

On January 20, 1868, the King wrote further to Bishop Staley: ". . . Hoapili and his wife had arrived. I would not receive him, as I considered that his

conduct towards the Queen has been despicable. Since his return he has been put under bond to keep the peace. He had been drinking, which made him crazy and quarrelsome. Since that he has had another family fight, he pointed a gun to his wife's head and offered to shoot her. She is stopping now with Mrs. Bishop. You know my feeling of Hoapili: his conduct has justified my views."⁴⁷

It is difficult to determine whether Kaaui ever returned to the prosecution of his clerical duties. The priest in Wailuku charged that he engaged in some "schismatical act" in that place and then went to Lahaina, where he got into a drunken brawl.⁴⁸ These accusations, however, cannot be accepted at their face value, for Dr. Staley disciplined the priest for "showing an entire want of tact & judgment" in the matter.⁴⁹ Whatever the reason, Kaaui soon reentered politics. In February, 1870, he stood for election as representative from Wailuku. At the time, the native Hawaiians were much exercised over a proposal to import a large number of coolies to work as laborers on the sugar plantations. Kaaui announced as an anti-coolie candidate and led the field by a vote of 304 out of 825.⁵⁰ He took his seat on April 30,⁵¹ and soon he was actively engaged in the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly. He was appointed a member of the committee on foreign affairs; he opposed an amendment to the rules that required a roll call vote on the first passage of each bill; he moved an amendment to a divorce bill that would have punished the guilty party by imprisonment at hard labor for a year; he criticized the Minister of Foreign Affairs for intemperate language; he voted that the Hawaiian version of any document be the definitive one; and he proposed an increase in the real property tax so that the personal and animal taxes might be abolished.⁵² Before the end of the assembly he was regarded as one of its prominent members.⁵³ In 1872 and 1874, he was spoken of as a candidate for reelection to the Legislature, but he did not stand.⁵⁴

In the meantime, Kaaui's domestic life was far from satisfactory. On April 22, 1872, Mrs. Kaaui filed suit for divorce. Kaaui answered her petition on May 29. In his replication, he made no attempt to answer her charges but rather entered upon an enumeration of complaints against her.⁵⁵

Despite his answer, Kaaui did not contest the divorce. The cause went to trial on September 12, 1872, when Mrs. Kaaui was granted a temporary decree, made absolute on June 18, 1873. Kaaui was required to pay her ten dollars a month alimony and the costs of the suit.⁵⁶ It is interesting to note that Mrs. Kaaui did not accuse her husband of infidelity. Perhaps he had not been guilty of this offense during the marriage, but on January 31, 1874, there was born to Keauookalau, the wife of Lihilihi, of Kauai, a boy, whom the mother claimed to be the son of Kaaui and whom she named Hoapili.⁵⁷

Mrs. Kaaui did not long survive the divorce. She died at the home of Princess Bernice Pauahi Bishop, in Honolulu, on November 3, 1873, aged thirty-three,⁵⁸ and the burial service was read over her remains in the Pro-Cathedral on the following day.⁵⁹

Despite Kaaui's splendid physique — he was in excess of six feet in height and had a barrel of a chest — he seems to have fallen a victim to pulmonary

tuberculosis, a disease that plagued Hawaiian natives. With the opening of the year 1874, his health became critical. Beginning on January 31, and continuing until his death, he was visited daily by his physician.⁶⁰ Despite his illness he took an active part in the election of a successor to King Lunalilo who had died without heir on February 3. Deserting the standard of the Dowager Queen Emma, he supported David Kalakaua who was elected. Kalakaua immediately rewarded him by appointing him Court Chamberlain on March 27. Following the election, the King made royal progresses to the islands of his dominions. On March 30, the day that the King was scheduled to leave for Lahaina, Kaaui, despite the precarious state of his health, was directing the packing of his trunk in order to accompany the King when he was attacked by a heart ailment and died almost instantly.⁶¹ The opposition that had existed to Kalakaua's election made inadvisable the postponement of the progress, and the King left as he had planned and remained away until April 14.⁶²

Kaaui's remains, preserved in alcohol in a wooden coffin lined with lead,⁶³ lay in state until the King's return. The funeral services were read at the Pro-Cathedral on Sunday afternoon, April 19, after which the remains were buried in an underground brick vault in Kawaiahae Churchyard,⁶⁴ the principal burial place of native Hawaiians in Honolulu. There, under a hau tree, they await the resurrection.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN NOTES

RHAS: Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society.

LR-SPG: refers to Letters Received from New Zealand, Wellington, Nelson, Christchurch, Melanesia, Honolulu, 1859 - 1867; being MSS. in the Archives of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, London.

NOTES

¹ *Polynesian* (Honolulu), Aug. 16, 1856.

² R. S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778 - 1854: Foundation and Transformation* (Honolulu, 1938), p. 280.

³ R. C. Lydecker, compiler, *Roster Legislatures of Hawaii* (Honolulu, 1918), pp. 32, 35, 55, 61; *New Era and Weekly Argus* (Honolulu), Feb. 8, 15, 1855. He served April 30 to June 21, 1851; April 7 to July 9, 1852; April 8 to Aug. 12, 1854; April 7 to June 16, 1855.

⁴ Deposition of W. H. Halstead, Aug. 21, 1876, in Probate (MSS. in Office of Clerk of Supreme Court, Honolulu), file 1355.

David Kaaui served in the House of Representatives, April 8 to Aug. 12, 1854; April 7 to June 16, 1855. He was married but had no children. In 1854 and 1855 he was an annual member of the RHAS. He was considered "one of the finest Hawaiian orators" and died in Honolulu, Jan. 26, 1856. Lydecker, *Roster*, pp. 55, 61; *RHAS Transactions, Fourth Annual Meeting, 1854* (Honolulu, 1854), p. 170; *RHAS Transactions, Fifth Annual Meeting, 1855* (Honolulu, 1855), p. 93; *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (Honolulu), Jan. 16, 1862; *Polynesian*, Feb. 2, 1856; *Friend* (Honolulu), XIII (March 1, 1856) p. 24.

George Kaleiwohi Kaaui was born about 1843; he married Ualiala Muolo Keawealehu, by whom he had one daughter; and he died in Honolulu, Feb. 16, 1883. Petition of Ualiala Muolo, Sept. 8, 1883, and deposition of Kanahahaha, in Probate, file 1356. Tombstone in Kawaiahae Churchyard, Honolulu, shows terminal dates incorrectly as 1831 and March, 1881.

The daughter died before 1848.

⁵ *Polynesian*, Aug. 16, 1856; *RHAS Transactions, First Annual Meeting, 1851* (Honolulu, 1851), p. 14. Kaauwai was an annual member in 1851 and 1852. He was appointed to the committee on swine in 1851 and to the committee on taro and garden vegetables in 1854. *RHAS Transactions, 1851*, pp. 17, 124; *RHAS Transactions, Second Annual Meeting, 1852* (Honolulu, 1852), p. 142; *RHAS Transactions, 1854*, p. 160.

⁶ *New Era and Weekly Argus*, Feb. 8, 1855.

⁷ *Polynesian*, Aug. 16, 1856; *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, Aug. 14, 1856.

⁸ Dr. T. N. Staley to W. T. Bullock, Dec. 22 [1863], *LR-SPG*, Honolulu, No. 15. On his tombstone in Kawaiahao Churchyard appears the erroneous statement that he was born in 1824.

⁹ Kuaana to trustees, April 29, 1861, *Records of Conveyances* (MSS. in Bureau of Conveyances, Honolulu), XIV, pp. 111-112; Kamehameha IV to trustees, May 15, 1861, *ibid.*, pp. 110-111.

¹⁰ Petition of Mary Ann Kiliwehi Kaauwai, April 22, 1872, in *Divorce* (MSS. in Office of Clerk of Circuit Court of Second Circuit, Wailuku, Maui), file 80.

¹¹ *Weekly Dispatch* (London), July 16, 1865, quoted in *Hawaiian Gazette* (Honolulu), Sept. 23, 1865; letter of the Rev. George Mason, Jan., 1864, in *The Net, Cast in Many Waters* (London), April 2, 1866, p. 57.

¹² *Polynesian*, Nov. 30, 1861; Jan. 18, 25, Feb. 8, 1862; *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, Jan. 16, 1862.

¹³ *Polynesian*, May 10, 17, 1862.

¹⁴ Staley to the Rev. E. Hawkins, Sept. 19, 1864, *LR-SPG*, Honolulu, No. 26.

¹⁵ Although there appears to be no record of this commission, Kaauwai was generally known as major. See letter of George Mason, Jan., 1863, in *Net*, April 22, 1866, p. 57; *Polynesian*, Feb. 28, 1863; Manley Hopkins, *Hawaii: The Past, Present, and Future of Its Island-Kingdom. An Historical Account of the Sandwich Islands (Polynesia)* (2d ed.; London, 1866), p. 466; "Hawaii and its Church" in *Colonial Church Chronicle*, XIX (1865), pp. 396-397; *The Kingdom and Church of Hawaii* . . . (London, 1865) p. 27; Staley to Hawkins, Sept. 9 [1863], *LR-SPG*, Honolulu No. 12; Staley to Bullock, Dec. 22 [1863], *ibid.* No. 15; Staley to Secretary, S.P.G., undated, *ibid.* No. 10; Staley to Bullock, July 21, 1865, *ibid.* No. 16. The photograph accompanying Andrew F. Muir, "Ordinations of the Bishops of Honolulu, 1862-1902" in *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, XX (Sept., 1951), shows Kaauwai in a major's uniform.

¹⁶ Bishop of Honolulu [T. N. Staley], *Five Years' Church Work in the Kingdom of Hawaii* (London, 1868), p. 26.

¹⁷ *Polynesian*, Feb. 28, 1863.

¹⁸ Staley to Hawkins, Sept. 9 [1863], *LR-SPG*, Honolulu, No. 12; Staley to Bullock, July 21, 1864, *ibid.*, No. 16; Hopkins, *Hawaii*, p. 466.

¹⁹ Staley to Secretary, S.P.G., Sept. 5, 1864, *LR-SPG*, Honolulu, No. 24.

²⁰ Staley to Hawkins, Sept. 9, [1863], *ibid.*, No. 12.

²¹ Letter of Mason in *Net*, April 22, 1866, p. 57; Staley to Secretary, S.P.G., July 24, 1863, *LR-SPG*, Honolulu, No. 13; Staley to Hawkins, Sept. 9 [1863], *ibid.* No. 12; Staley to Bullock, Dec. 22 [1863], *ibid.*, No. 15; the Rev. Edmund Ibbotson to Secretary, S.P.G., *ibid.*, No. 24.

²² Privy Council Records (MSS. in Archives of Hawaii, Honolulu), XI, 177.

²³ Staley to Secretary, S.P.G., undated, *LR-SPG*, Honolulu, No. 10.

²⁴ Staley to Secretary, S.P.G., Sept. 5, 1864, *ibid.*, No. 24; Staley to Hawkins, Sept. 19, 1864, *ibid.*, No. 26. Later, however, Kaauwai became a missionary of the S.P.G. Staley to Secretary, S.P.G., Jan. 15, Feb. 24, 1866, *ibid.*, Nos. 34 and 43.

²⁵ Staley to Hawkins, Sept. 19, 1864, *ibid.*, No. 26.

²⁶ D. W. Kalaeloa to Editor, Lahaina, Sept. 28, 1864, in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* (Honolulu), Oct. 8, 1864; letter to Staley, Oct. 12, 1864, in *Colonial Church Chronicle*, XIX (1865), p. 119; *Hawaiian Gazette*, May 6, 1865; *Missionary Herald*, LXI (1865) p. 26.

²⁷ Letter of Staley, Oct. 12, 1864, in *Colonial Church Chronicle*, XIX, p. 119.

²⁸ *Hawaiian Gazette*, May 6, 1865.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, May 13, 1865.

³⁰ *Evening Mail* (London), July 13, 1865, and *Weekly Despatch*, July 16, 1865, quoted in *Hawaiian Gazette*, Sept. 20, 1865.

³¹ Mother Kate, S.S.M. (Katherine Anne Egerton Warburton), *Old Soho Days and Other Memories* (London, 1906), p. 58. Courtesy of the Rev. T. J. Williams of Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

³² [Arthur J. Butler], *Life and Letters of William John Butler, Late Dean of Lincoln and Sometime Vicar of Wantage* (London, 1898), p. 113.

³³ [Hallam Tennyson], *Alfred Lord Tennyson: a Memoir* (London, 1906), pp. 439-40.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 441.

³⁵ Letter in the Queen Emma Museum, Honolulu.

³⁶ *Hawaiian Gazette*, Nov. 24, 1866.

³⁷ *Southern Cross* (Auckland), Aug. 13, 15, and Sept. 1, 1866. Courtesy of Mr. R. Duthie, reference librarian, Auckland Public Library.

³⁸ *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, Jan. 21, 1882. See also *ibid.*, July 28, 1877.

³⁹ Staley to Secretary, S.P.G., May 1, 1867, *LR-SPG*, Honolulu No. 51. There is no mention of Kaauwai in the records of the Diocese of Auckland. The Right Rev. William John Simpkin, bishop of Auckland, to writer, Jan. 7, 1947.

⁴⁰ *Maile Quarterly*, II (1866), p. 21.

⁴¹ *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, Nov. 24, 1866.

⁴² *Hawaiian Gazette*, Nov. 24, 1866.

⁴³ *Southern Cross*, June 17, 1867.

⁴⁴ *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, Sept. 7, 1867. The return of the Kaauwais did not put an end to this journal's vicious comments, for a short while later, it stated: "The unexpected return of Rev. Mr. Hoapili and wife, from England via New Zealand, was hinted at as having had something to do with . . . [Charles Gordon Hopkins'] departure." *Ibid.*, Oct. 5, 1867. Hopkins, brother of Manley Hopkins, Hawaiian consul general and charge d'affaires in London, and uncle of the Rev. Gerald Manley Hopkins, S.J., the poet, had held several offices in Hawaii and had accompanied Queen Emma to England in the capacity of private secretary.

⁴⁵ *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, Sept. 14, 1867.

⁴⁶ Letter in the archives of the Hawaiian Historical Society.

⁴⁷ Letter in the archives of the University of Hawaii Library.

⁴⁸ The Rev. G. B. Whipple to Staley, Aug. 29, 1868, in Henry Benjamin Whipple Papers (MSS. in Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minn.).

⁴⁹ Fragment of letter of Staley to G. B. Whipple, *ibid.*

⁵⁰ *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, Feb. 12, 1870; *Hawaiian Gazette*, Feb. 16, 1870.

⁵¹ *Hawaiian Gazette*, May 4, 1870.

⁵² *Ibid.*, May 4, 11, 18, 25, June 29, and July 3, 1870.

⁵³ H. Holstein, "A Memorial to the Hon. Messrs. Hitchcock, Boyd, Bishop, Thompson, Kaauwai, and other prominent members of the Legislature, who are willing to devise measures and enact laws with a view to correct as much as possible the abuses and errors of the past, and to prevent, as much as lies in human power and wisdom, the impending ruin of these islands" in *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, June 25, 1870.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, Jan. 6, 1872; Jan. 17, 1874.

⁵⁵ Petition, April 22, 1872, and answer, May 29, 1872, in Divorce, file 80.

⁵⁶ Decrees, *ibid.*

⁵⁷ Petition of Edward Preston, attorney for Hoapili, filed Aug. 14, 1876, in Probate, file 1355.

⁵⁸ *Friend*, XXX (Dec., 1873), p. 101; *Hawaiian Gazette*, Nov. 12, 1873.

⁵⁹ *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, Nov. 8, 1873; *Hawaiian Church Monthly Messenger*, I (1873), p. 96; Burial Register of St. Andrew's Cathedral (MSS. in Office of Canon Pastor, Honolulu).

⁶⁰ O. S. Cummin's bill in Probate, file 1355.

⁶¹ *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, April 4, 1874; *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, April 4, 1874; April 16, 1944. On Kaauwai's tombstone, the date of death is given erroneously as "APRIL 1874."

⁶² *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, April 4, 18, 1874.

⁶³ C. E. Williams' bill, Sept. 3, 1874, in Probate, file 1355. The costs were: wooden coffin, \$20; lead coffin, \$35; thirty gallons of alcohol and attendance, \$150; total, \$205.

⁶⁴ *Hawaiian Gazette*, April 22, 1874; *Hawaiian Church Monthly Messenger*, May 1, 1874, inside front cover; Burial Register of St. Andrew's Cathedral.

COURTHOUSE MARKS ITS CENTENNIAL*

MEIRIC K. DUTTON

ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO, on July 5, 1852, the superior court of the Kingdom of Hawaii met for the first time in the courthouse which had just been erected on Queen Street. This landmark, the second largest building in the kingdom, served concurrently as a courthouse, parliament house and civic center for 22 years. It still stands, having become a unit in the headquarters of American Factors, Ltd., and is one of the few buildings in Honolulu to recall the early days of the monarchy.

Begun early in 1851 as a combination courthouse and jail, work was soon halted "on account of the depth of water found upon the foundation rock, which rendered it impracticable to proceed." When work was recommenced in June, the jail had been side-tracked and the plans for the new building called only for one that would "serve the purposes of the Legislative Assembly, as well as for holding the Courts."

The *Polynesian* deplored that work on the courthouse was to proceed before "the building of a good, secure, substantial Prison." It argued: "Not only is the present miserable apology for one entirely inadequate . . . but its insecurity is a matter of public notoriety and of complaint by the marshal and sheriff." In October, this insecurity was dramatized when the courthouse again became a subject of news.

On the night of Oct. 22-23, 1851, "the usual quiet of Honolulu was disturbed by the beating of drums, calling the soldiers to duty to suppress a revolt among the prisoners," about 60 of whom had been employed on the reef in cutting coral blocks for the new courthouse. Prior to that date, prisoners had been returned to the fort at night for safe-keeping; but it had been decided to take advantage of the low tide very early in the morning and to permit the prisoners to encamp near the reef under guard.

About 40 of the prisoners escaped that night with the intent of "making way with the governor, the marshal, and other members of the government, firing the town, and committing depredation upon the property of foreigners generally." The greater part of the prisoners had assembled on Punchbowl where they had broken into the magazine and loaded to the muzzle three of the large guns. The guns, "were pointed at conspicuous buildings in town, and had they been fired, shotted as they were, could hardly have failed to do damage, if not destroy life." However, the prisoners had neglected to provide fire and so were prevented from setting off the heavily loaded guns.

The police and soldiers under the leadership of Marshal William C. Parke rushed the precipitous face of Punchbowl amid a hail of stones from above.

* This paper was first printed in "The Hawaii Weekly" section of the *Honolulu Advertiser* of July 6, 1952, and is here reprinted without alterations or additions.

Two shots were fired by the marshal's party as they approached near enough to distinguish the prisoners. One shot went through the shirt of a convict, and the second closely grazed the head of another. The convicts then scattered, and all but two had surrendered or been captured by nine o'clock next morning.

The stone work on the new building was completed by February, 1852, and carpenters were at work upon the roof, with some expectation that the legislature might hold its April session in the 30-foot-high supreme court room.

Further delays upset this plan; and the report of Keoni Ana, minister of the interior, to the king and legislature on April 14, 1852, said, "This large and elegant structure is now nearly completed, and the expenditure is thought to have been judiciously bestowed." In explanation of the expenditures and the delays, the minister's report continued: "The great reason of the delay in the completion of this and other public works has been the miserable quality of the laborers employed, who have been, principally, the prisoners. They work it is true without pay, but the cost of their food, amounting to 3 reals per man per day, and their extreme indolence have caused great loss of time and money. Each stone in the courthouse according to accounts accurately kept has cost \$1.58¾, whereas the same stone could have been procured by contract, for less than one dollar each, as will be seen by the superintendent's report. A further appropriation will be needed for the completion of this building."

On Wednesday, June 16, Police Justice Charles Coffin Harris moved into his quarters in the new courthouse; and on the following day, Chief Justice William L. Lee and the clerk of the superior court moved into their respective offices. Even before being occupied by these officials, however, the new building was used for one of a long series of distinguished civic gatherings for which it was to become noted. The sessions of the second annual meeting of the Royal Hawaiian Agricultural society had been held in the partially-completed building beginning June first.

The big hall in which the superior court was to meet was completed in time for the opening of the July term at 10 a.m. July 5. Judge Lee opened the session with an address in which he asked those in attendance to "pause a moment, as we meet for the first time in this temple dedicated to justice, and reflect upon our duties as lawyers, as jurors, and as judges." The 31-year-old chief justice proceeded with an address of outstanding merit.

In concluding his address, Judge Lee referred briefly to the new courthouse: "I well remember when I landed on these shores, now nearly six years ago, the court met in an old grass house, floored with mats, without benches, seats or comforts of any kind, with one corner partitioned off with calico, for judge's office, clerk's office, police court, and jury room, standing on the very ground where now stands this substantial edifice erected at a cost of upwards of forty thousand dollars, and which would do credit to any land. Justice in a grass house is as precious as justice in one of coral, but no one can fail to agree with me, that the latter with all its comforts and conveniences is greatly to be preferred, inasmuch as it tends to promote that dignity and propriety of manners so essential to secure a proper respect for the law and its administration. May this Hall ever be the temple of Justice — may its wall ever echo with the accents of truth — may

its high roof ever look down upon us in the faithful discharge of our duties—and may the blessing of Him who builded the Heavens and whose throne is the fountain of all justice ever rest upon us.”

In addition to its official function as a courthouse and legislative hall, the building was frequently used for public meetings. The congregation of the Second Foreign church of Honolulu announced July 24, 1852 that it would “hereafter worship in the new court house every Sabbath at 11 o'clock in the morning, and at 7½ o'clock in the evening.” This church, which later became the Fort St. church, was organized on June 2, 1852 and held its first few meetings at the Second Native (Kaumakapili) church. It was not until 1856 that this congregation erected its own church edifice at Fort and Beretania Sts.

Occasionally, distinguished artists stopped in passing between San Francisco and Australia to give performances in Honolulu's new courthouse. Such an occasion was the concert which Miss Catherine Hayes gave on Tuesday evening, July 25, 1854. The *Polynesian* of July 29 asked, “Who, in his wildest dreams of progression, would have dared to predict 20 years ago, that our streets would be placarded with the name of an artist who has delighted the fastidious taste of European courts? . . . Our eyes have seen the name of Catherine Hayes, and our ears have heard her charming voice.”

In February, 1866, Madame Anna Bishop gave two concerts to full audiences at the courthouse. Local singers of considerable ability, and local instrumental groups were frequently heard in concerts there.

Among the more colorful events to be held at the courthouse were the balls given during the reign of King Kamehameha IV. On Nov. 13, 1856, the Chinese merchants of Honolulu and Lahaina combined to give a grand ball to their majesties King Kamehameha IV and Queen Emma, in honor of their recent marriage. The great hall of the courthouse was brilliantly lighted and beautifully decorated. Behind the raised dais where their majesties sat, life-sized illuminated figures formed the Hawaiian coat-of-arms. It was pronounced the most splendid affair of the kind ever seen in Honolulu, and was reported to have cost \$3,700.

On the evening of June 5, 1856, Prince Lot Kamehameha gave a brilliant ball. The large hall of the courthouse was “elegantly decorated with wreaths, pennants, and the flags of all nations.” The other arrangements were reported as being equally happy, and the supper room in particular called forth much admiration. Princess Victoria, sister of Kamehameha IV and Prince Lot, danced for the first time in public at this ball. “The king was in good spirits, and staid late” and “the Prince displayed his usual savoir faire.”

The British acting commissioner, W. L. Green, gave a soiree at the courthouse on June 20, 1861, to honor Jane, Lady Franklin, widow of the famed English explorer, Sir John Franklin, before her departure for San Francisco. Sir John had sailed on his last expedition in 1845, and it was not until 1859 that a final searching party returned with word that Sir John had died on June 11, 1847. Of this entire expedition of 129 men, not one survived. Honolulu had eagerly watched for results of various search parties, and warmly regarded the brave widow who had herself sponsored many of the searching expeditions. When she visited Honolulu, she was received into the hearts of the townspeople.

Of the soiree given by Mr. Green, it was reported: "The decorations of the room were excellent and tastily got up, and the repast was sumptuous and recherche. Their Majesties the King and Queen arrived a little after 8 p.m., accompanied by Lady Franklin and her niece, Miss Cracroft, and their Majesties' suite. The crowd of ladies and gentlemen who thronged the spacious rooms, was large beyond precedent in Honolulu."

Early in 1866, some changes were made in the court room. "New matting has been laid down, and the wood-work repainted and varnished. Over the entrance from the lobby is suspended a life-size portrait of His Majesty the King, painted by M. Dudoit, and on the opposite wall hangs the picture of Kamehameha I, painted by Sawkins some years ago. The rear of the dais, where the judges sit, is draped with green damask. Above is suspended the national arms and motto, surmounted by two spears crossed and a crown . . . On the south side of the Court room a new and very handsome clock denotes the flight of time, while beneath it is an indicator of the days of the week and month."

The legislature continued to meet in the courthouse so long as the government owned the building.

Almost the last official action to take place in the courthouse was the special session of legislature, called for Feb. 12, 1874, to elect a successor to King Lunalilo, who had died without having designated an heir to the throne. Lunalilo himself had been elected king in this building on Jan. 8, 1873, after Kamehameha V died without issue and without having proclaimed an heir on December 11 of the preceding year. Lunalilo's reign of one-year and 26 days ended with his death on Feb. 3, 1874 after a lingering illness of about four months.

In accordance with the provisions of the constitution in cases where the previous occupant of the throne failed to nominate or proclaim a successor, the cabinet of the late king called a meeting of the legislative assembly to "elect by ballot some native alii of the kingdom as successor to the throne." Such a meeting was ordered by the cabinet for noon Feb. 12.

David Kalakaua placed his name in nomination as successor on Feb. 4; and the following day Queen Emma, widow of Kamehameha IV, announced her candidacy. The presses of the kingdom were kept busy during the succeeding week producing broadsides and printing regular and extra editions of newspapers setting forth the claims of one or the other of the candidates. The American community, which controlled the press of the kingdom, and the natives of the outer islands favored Kalakaua; the British community and a large portion of the natives of Oahu favored Queen Emma.

By 10 o'clock on the morning of the election, crowds began to gather in the courthouse grounds. About a thousand men, women and children had gathered by 11:45 when about 200 adherents of Queen Emma marched down the street with drums beating and amid much cheering. Throughout the meeting, which resulted in Kalakaua's election by a vote of 39 to 6, Queen Emma's partisans were to be heard outside the courthouse. The appearance of the committee which had been appointed to notify Kalakaua of his election was the signal for riot.

As the members of the notification committee attempted to enter the carriage waiting to convey them to the palace, the crowd surrounded and attacked them. The carriage was demolished, and its spokes became clubs with which the mob attacked the representatives, some of whom were wounded before they could get back inside the courthouse. The mob then forced its way into the building, smashed all the windows and most of the window-sash on both floors, destroyed chairs, tables, papers and books and attacked the representatives with clubs. The office of the clerks of the court and the library alone were respected. Had the wills and records on deposit there been destroyed, the loss could never have been repaired.

A notable circumstance throughout the whole of the riot was that, with one exception at the beginning, no foreigner was molested. That person had bravely stepped to the rescue of Major Moehonua, one of the notification committee who was seriously injured. It is also remarkable that no one was killed at the scene, especially since pools of blood covered the matting and floors, while the plastering in various rooms was smeared with blood.

The police and volunteer guards generally favored the Queen's interests, and failed to make much effort to control the mob. At length, the newly elected king, with Mr. Bishop and the governor of Oahu, applied to the American minister and to the British commissioner for a force of marines from the three warships in the harbor. The American forces, who had been forewarned, landed within ten minutes and marched on the double to the courthouse where they dispersed the mob and arrested a number of rioters. American marines also were detailed to guard the palace, the barracks, and the prison; while men from the British corvette proceeded to the residence of Queen Emma to disperse the mob gathered there.

Kalakaua took the oath of office on Friday, Feb. 13, and Queen Emma immediately acknowledged him as king. The special session of the legislative assembly closed on Feb. 14 after hearing an address by the king in both Hawaiian and English. This was the last session of the assembly to be held in the Queen St. courthouse. The regular session of the legislature for 1874 met on April 30 in the legislative hall of the new government building—Aliiolani Hale.

The members of the bar of the supreme court met on Wednesday, Feb. 18, when Judges Hartwell and Widemann retired to become respectively attorney general and minister of the interior. At the same time, Charles Coffin Harris became first associate justice and A. Francis Judd became second associate justice. As police justice, Judge Harris had been the first official to occupy the Queen St. courthouse. Now, 22 years later, it fell to his lot to address the retiring justices and the members of the bar.

Judge Harris feelingly paid tribute to Chief Justice Lee and to the address of inauguration he made on the opening of the court in the new building. He recalled seeing that building "raising from its foundation" and remarked that the court room itself "as at first constructed was one, from the lower floor to the ceiling—the present floor having been put in subsequently, thus dividing it into two stories."

The various branches of the court were removed to the new government

house on King St. during the latter part of May and early June, 1874. The *Hawaiian Gazette* deplored that the new accommodations were "so far from the business centre of the town" that they "will prove very vexatious to those who are required often to visit them." It continued: "The mistake committed in selecting the present site will become every day more apparent. We see no way to remedy it now, except to build a new and smaller government house on the square between the court and custom houses, and when completed to turn the present fine building into a palace for the King, and the present palace grounds into a public park."

The courthouse was advertised for sale at auction in the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* of May 9, 1874. Objections were raised in the legislative assembly, and the sale was postponed. A bill soon passed the legislature to provide "that no sale of one land or lot exceeding \$5000 in value shall be made without the consent of the king and a majority of the privy council." Previously, the minister of the interior had not been so restricted.

Initially, the sale of the courthouse had been postponed until July 11. It was later postponed again to September 19 when the sale finally took place. The property had a frontage on Queen St. of 243.2 feet; thence along Fort St., 160.7 feet; thence to Widemann Lot, 274 feet; thence to Queen St., 213.6 feet. It had an area of 48,016 square feet.

The courthouse property was sold to H. Hackfeld & Co., predecessor of American Factors, Ltd., at the upset price of \$20,000. As reported by the *Hawaiian Gazette*, "It is the best business stand in Honolulu." The *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* remarked in passing that "it seems like profanation to pile up vulgar sugar and molasses in those classic shades;" but it actively favored the sale, and said that the delay had "created an outburst of mistaken patriotism, and caused whole days to be wasted in debate."

All the partitions of stone, both below and up stairs, were removed after the sale of the building to H. Hackfeld & Co. New floors were laid and various other alterations were made "to fit the building for its destined purpose—the place of business of a prosperous and active first-class mercantile firm."

In 1927 a committee of the Hawaiian Historical society suggested to American Factors, Ltd., the desirability of placing a tablet on the old courthouse building. The directors of American Factors approved the request; and a tablet was erected in 1928 telling of the historic interest of the building.

Although American Factors, Ltd., is now redeveloping the entire city block adjacent to its main offices, the historic courthouse which is now occupied by offices of the company will not be affected by the modernization program.

CHORIS AND KAMEHAMEHA

JEAN CHARLOT

THIS STUDY of the portraits that Choris painted of Kamehameha is based on well known documents: the published texts of von Kotzebue and of de Chamisso, and Choris' own reports with pen, pencil, and watercolor brush.

My only excuse for going once again over this material, though it already was analysed with deep insight by Huc-M. Luquiens, is that my conclusions differ markedly from his own.¹

At daybreak, on November 24, 1816, the ship *Rurick* faced the coast of Hawaii. Captain von Kotzebue had previously been advised of a strong anti-Russian feeling 'in the air', as a result of the awkwardly aggressive maneuvers of the Russian Scheffer against Kamehameha's political primacy. There were also the spiteful threats of sailors, dissatisfied with the details of their provisioning, who had sworn not long before that they would send a Russian warship to annex the archipelago; and the *Rurick* was such a ship.

Acting cautiously, and perhaps not unmindful of the lethal unpleasantness suffered by Captain Cook, Captain von Kotzebue chose to stay on board. He sent as his emissaries to the king—as more expendable than sailors—those men he quaintly chose to call "our scientific gentlemen:" Eschscholtz, a doctor whose hobby was zoology, Adelbert de Chamisso, the botanist of the expedition (whose habit of drying his 'herbs' in the sun on deck irritated the captain), and Louis Choris, the artist. Together with Elliot de Castro, who had boarded the ship in San Francisco, knew Kamehameha, and was to act as interpreter, they were put over in the small boat, "in order to acquaint the king with the object of our voyage."

The landing of the small craft at dawn must have been dramatic. The scientific gentlemen could observe the swift moves on shore of groups of warlike figures, and surmise that they themselves were the object of such martial preparations. Some uncertainty as to their immediate fate must have mingled with the awe with which they made ready to meet Kamehameha, already famous as the Napoleon of the Pacific. For Choris, always the artist, the hues of dawn lent color and form to these mixed emotions.

De Chamisso left us a word picture of the landing: "On the shore, countless people were under arms. The old king, in front of whose house we landed, was sitting upon a raised terrace, surrounded by his wives, and dressed in his native costume, the red *malo* and the black *tapa*, the wide beautiful folded cape of black cloth."

Choris noted, "Tammeamea received us frigidly."

This first awesome sight of the king is recorded graphically by Choris in

¹ "Kamehameha's Portrait" by Huc-M. Luquiens, in the 45th Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society for the Year 1936.

Vues et Paysages des Régions Equinoxiale, Pl. XVIII, "Entrevue de l'expédition de M. Kotzebue avec le Roi Tamméaméa, dans l'île d'Ovayhi." (Fig. 1)

The beautiful plate is preeminently a landscape. It is only by focusing on the clustered humans that the historical importance of the scene becomes manifest. Choris, 'barely twenty', chose to represent himself in the foreground, hugging close his sketchbook. Next to him, de Chamisso in his mid-thirties, in a greatcoat with brandenburgs 'à la Polonaise', and a shirt with open collar 'à la Byron'. Eschscholtz is also there, and Elliot squats in the background, a tiny oldster thatched with white that de Chamisso once compared to a gnome in a fairytale. Loyal to his captain—who was in fact, at that time, safely on board the *Rurick*, awaiting news of peace or war—Choris added in retrospect von Kotzebue to the scene, imposing in his green uniform, sidewhiskers, sword, and cocked hat.

Native warriors, old chiefs, and courtiers, make up the picturesque crowd facing the explorers, some with plumed capes and helmets, some tattooed and sporting a medley of native and foreign weapons. The women add naked beauty to the animated scene. (Fig. 2)

The dominant figure, however, is that of Kamehameha, all the more imposing in that none of the picturesqueness of his court, helmets and capes, beards and miscellany weapons, bedeck him. The black mantle of tapa, cradling the limbs in its ample folds, brings forth for us classical memories of Roman senators and marble togas; the Buddahwise squatting posture superimposes to these classical memories an Oriental inscrutability. (Fig. 3)

Though minute in scale, this lithographed version merits to take its place alongside the better known portraits of the king. Equally valid as a document, it records a first impression that was diluted all too soon to familiarity, as Kamehameha's mood veered from the majestic to one of amiable loquaciousness. The one objection that might have carried weight in Victorian times—that this portrait was not done directly from nature, but rather from memories—is not as impressive today as it would have been then, now that new theories of art have further clarified the relative values of objective sight and subjective vision.

Kamehameha's change of mood was noted by de Chamisso: "The old gentleman gladly welcomed the return of his doctor [Elliot] . . . and allowed him to explain the friendly purposes of our expedition. When this had been done, he gave us a friendly salute, shook us by the hand, and invited us to partake of a baked pig. We put off the meal until the arrival of the captain."

While waiting for von Kotzebue, continues de Chamisso, "Eschscholtz and I requested to be allowed to go botanizing, whilst Choris remained in order to draw the king's portrait."

Added Choris, "I asked Tammeamea permission to do his portrait; this prospect seemed to please him very much, but he asked me to leave him alone an instant, so he could dress. Imagine my surprise on seeing this monarch display himself in the costume of a sailor; he wore blue trousers, a red waistcoat, a clean white shirt and a necktie of yellow silk. I begged him to change his dress; he refused absolutely and insisted on being painted as he was."

It can be easily surmised that the change of clothing Choris asked for, and failed to obtain, was a return to the native tapa Kamehameha had just doffed.

What was accomplished at this early morning sitting?

The collection of Choris' original travel sketches preserved at the Honolulu Academy of Art gives pointers concerning his work that may help us sift the evidence at hand. Choris was unusually thrifty with his drawing paper, never quite knowing when he would be able to replenish his stock, or how demanding the incentive to sketch, as new islands and new sights materialized out of the Pacific. In his drawings, we see heads clustered on a single sheet, though made at distinct sittings; shoulders and torsos crowd each other uncomfortably; at times, they overlap unrealistically. No. 6-6, "Homme des Iles Radak," for example, describes two heads, the jaw and ear of the one seen in transparency through the skull and hairdo of the other.² Choris' thrifty habits came to a climax in the portrait presumed to be that of Kaahumanu, No. 11. Her fat face is wedged within the contours of a roughly torn off scrap of paper, that leaves room neither for the top half of the head lei nor for the chins of the sturdy queen.

The voyage ended, Choris dismembered his notebook. Its pages were cut into pieces according to subject matter, and the pieces were rearranged on cardboards for easier display. Choris also numbered and captioned the sketches. Despite all this care, so crowded had been some of the original pages that, at times, the outer lines of a subject were left spilled over an area meant for another theme.

Such is the case with No. 6-4, a head non-committally captioned, "Chef des Iles Sandwich," generally acknowledged to be Kamehameha. In its lower left corner, quill pen lines describe the shoulder of some other person, covered by a material of the texture of cloth or tapa. (Fig. 4)

On the same cardboard as this sketch, Choris pasted another quill pen and wash drawing, "Femme des Iles Sandwich mêlée avec un Européen." It is set in its present state on a small piece of paper, leaving just enough marginal clearance for the face. The shoulder scarf, however, was cut away at both ends when the original sheet was pared down. (Fig. 5)

Using tracings, or photographs, if we shuffle alongside each other the two heads, and make a visual allowance for a narrow vertical strip now missing between the two papers, we see how the shoulder pertaining to the female head spills its lines over the boundary of the other drawing. The concordancy is more than a coincidence. Lines are of corresponding value, width, and texture, and the double stroke that defines the outline of the shoulder runs through both subjects. Equally convincing is the change in direction of the folds of the scarf that, on both sheets, reverse their course from rightwise to leftwise, as they gather over the bosom. (Fig. 6)

A third head in the Academy collection, Choris plainly identified as a portrait of Kamehameha, "Tamméaméa, Roi des Iles Sandwich." It was paired by the

² In numbering Choris' drawings, the first number is that given by the Academy of Arts to the cardboard on which Choris, as a rule, pasted a group of small sketches. The second number is that written, by Choris himself, on each sketch.

painter with a sketch made on the same day that the regal sitting took place, of Kamehameha's heir, Liholiho.

The king's bust is set with more than usual care on an oval shaped paper suggestive of a locket-frame, for which Choris may once have cut this watercolor to fit. Unlike the plain washes seen in most of his other portraits, he used here short staccato brush strokes reminiscent of the craft of a miniaturist. (Fig. 7)

The orderly appearance imparted by the regular shape is deceptive. The portrait is painted not on one but on two pieces of paper, skillfully cut and pasted together to appear as one. Set on a slant at the upper right, the joint affects part of the background. Quill pen strokes, unrelated to the main subject, are half-seen under the translucent watercolor washes of the gray-green background. Obviously out of context, the strokes are bunched at the right of the head. They stop sharply at the slanted cut and the small added paper is quite free of them. It appears that these fragmentary lines were drawn before the two sheets were joined.

The joining was done by the painter himself, as it preceded the painting of at least the background, where the serried brushstrokes override both papers.

What neighboring subject, in this case, left some of its lines astray in the oval portrait? At the lower left of the female head already described, the edge adjoining the shoulder scarf is cut on a slant answering that edge, in the oval, now hidden with paste and paint. To bring together these two edges is sufficient evidence that the 'meaningless' lines in the background of the Kamehameha portrait complete the scarf started in the other drawing. (Fig. 8)

We may add to this physical evidence de Chamisso's eye-witness description of the same page of the sketchbook, as he knew it before it was dismembered, "The painter had side by side with the king's picture the drawing of a woman of the middle class." Reconstructed, the page agrees on the whole with de Chamisso's description (linecut A). The female head may be safely recognized as "the drawing of a woman of the middle class." Not one, but two sketches of the king are brought in close relationship to it. However, the head at the right, Choris did not care to identify by name. This leaves the one seen at the left—an acknowledged likeness of Kamehameha—as the portrait de Chamisso had in mind.

Added de Chamisso, "Mr. Young, to whom this page was shown, expressed his doubts of the propriety of such a combination. He advised our friend [Choris] either to separate the two pictures or not to show them at all. Therefore the page was cut in two before the King was shown to other Hawaiians."

The mention of "Mr. Young" gives the place where, and the date when, the portrait was cut away from the sketchbook page: having missed John Young in Hawaii, the explorers contacted him on Oahu, where the *Rurick* anchored four days later.

Choris obeyed John Young's lesson in Hawaiian etiquette. Once isolated, the king's portrait would be worked over to give it the propriety it lacked, before being shown "to other Hawaiians." The stay on Oahu is the probable date when the drawing acquired its oval shape, and its careful watercolor finish.

One of the marks that previous researchers looked for in their quest for the 'original' portrait of Kamehameha was the sailor costume that the king undoubtedly wore at the sitting. Of the more tentative one of two heads, No. 6-4, Huc-M. Luquiens has this to say, "It could not be Choris' 'original' made when the king was posing, for . . . it is practically essential that the red vest should appear for such identification."

For the same reason, he dismisses the oval portrait, "It is somewhat rough, and shows a small portion of the 'black cloak' about the throat . . . The accounts of both Kotzebue and Choris himself are so circumstantial as to the insistence of the king on being painted in the red waistcoat that we cannot regard this watercolor as being Choris' 'original' made from life."

So plausible is this *sine qua non* of a European garb that it should prove in some way valid in the case of these same two drawings, now that another *sine qua non*, to wit "the drawing of a woman of the middle class," has stamped them as sketched from life.

The head, No. 6-4, stops at the chin; it lacks a neck and the attached neckline that could at least suggest the presence of the English shirt, or that of the Hawaiian costume. Nothing here conflicts, or agrees either, with the red vest requirement. (see Fig. 4)

The oval portrait shows the black tapa cloak, it is true, but was not always as we see it now. It is a plastic palimpsest, hiding a complex web of drawn and incised lines under the surface version. These lines coincide with the features and the general shape of the head. Most of them disagree, however, with the painting of the bust, that has the bare neck emerging from the V opening of the cloak. What these maverick lines configure instead are the European shirt with the tight collar, the flowing tie, the lapels of the vest, part of the shirtsleeves.

Thus, hidden under this puzzling portrait of the king in Hawaiian costume, there exists an earlier version, one that showed the king in the red vest. Judging from that part of it that remains exposed over the top of the head, it was a quill pen and wash rendering. The vest was painted a light red, now become underpainting, that modifies the dark gray of the cloak at the right shoulder, and the gray green of the background over the left shoulder of the king. It is this first version that is used in the reconstruction of the sketchbook page (see linecut A). The further significance of the incised lines shall be made clear later on.

Wrote von Kotzebue, "At 8 A.M., Mr. Elliot settled business to our advantage; he came on board with two of the most distinguished chiefs . . . who welcomed us in the name of the king . . . He invited me to his camp . . . whither I went."

Wrote de Chamisso, "Finally, our Captain arrived. The old warrior received him with great cordiality." Von Kotzebue was met by Kamehameha "upon the landing place, and he shook me heartily by the hand, when we had landed. His dress consisted of white shirt, blue pantaloons, red vest, and black neck-cloth."

Von Kotzebue had missed entirely the morning sitting, over when Kame-

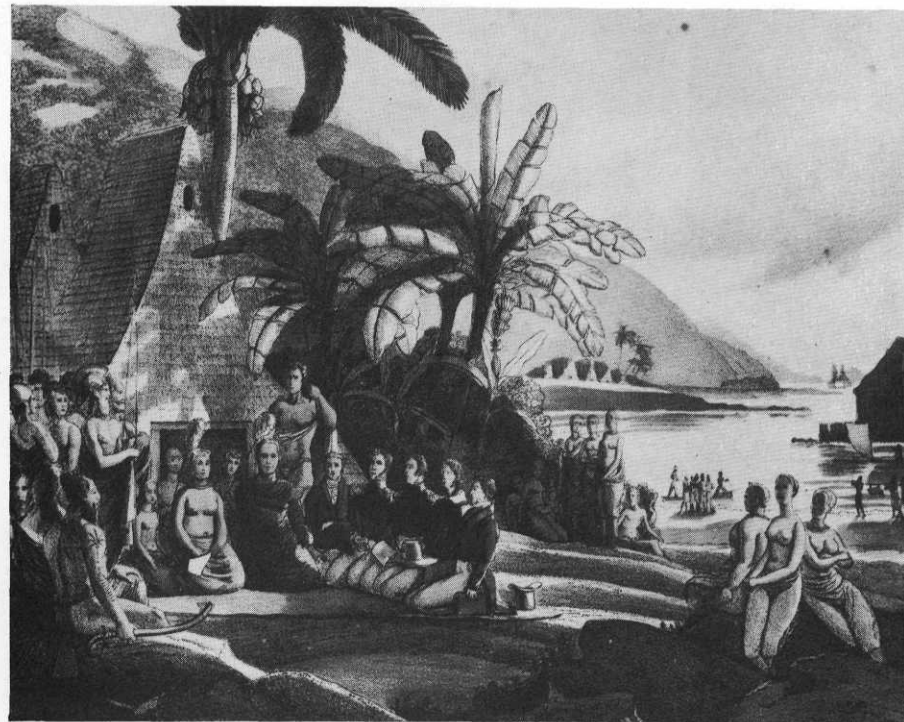


Fig. 1. Plate XVIII of *Vues et Paysages des Régions Equinoxiales*.



Fig. 2. Detail. From right to left: Choris, de Chamisso, Eschscholtz, von Kotzebue, Elliot de Castro, Kamehameha, Kaahumanu.

Illustrations for
 "Choris and Kamehameha"
 By Jean Charlot →



Fig. 4. Choris, "Chef des Iles Sandwich". Pencil, quill pen and watercolor.

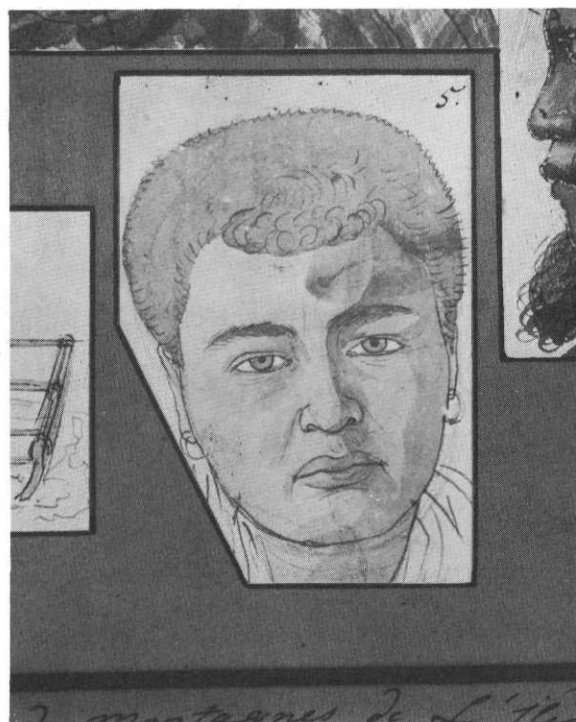


Fig. 5. Choris, "Femme des Iles Sandwich mêlée avec un Européen". Pencil, quill pen and watercolor.

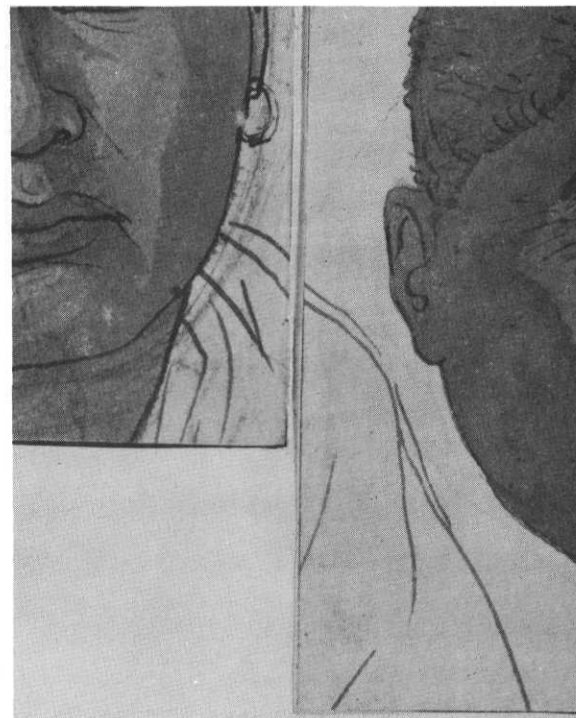


Fig. 6. Enlarged details from "Chef des Iles Sandwich", and "Femme des Iles Sandwich", showing original relationship.

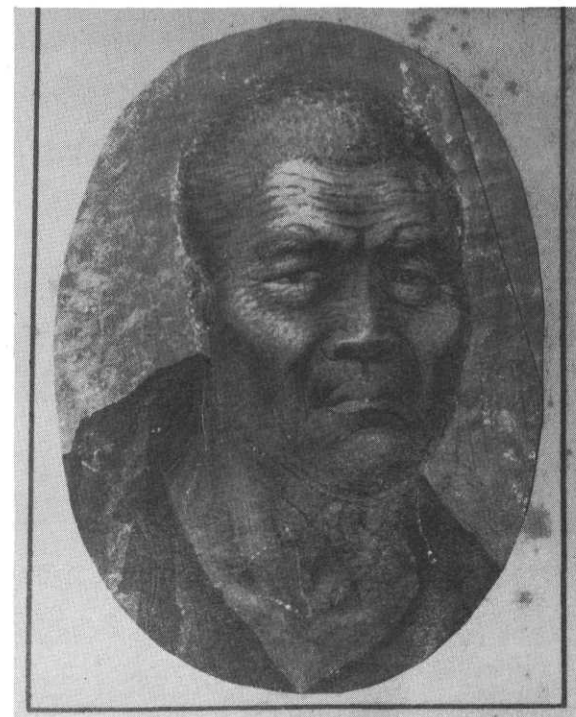


Fig. 7. Choris, "Tamméa-méa Roi des Iles Sandwich". Pencil, quill pen, gouache and watercolor. Photograph taken in a slanting light to stress diagonal cut and incised lines.



Fig. 3. Detail, enlarged. Kamehameha in the black cloak.



Fig. 8. Enlarged details from "Tamméaméa", and "Femme des Iles Sandwich", showing original relationship. "Tamméaméa" photographed with red filter to bring out hidden lines.



Fig. 9. Choris, "Kamehameha in the red vest" Collection Bruce Cartwright Jr.

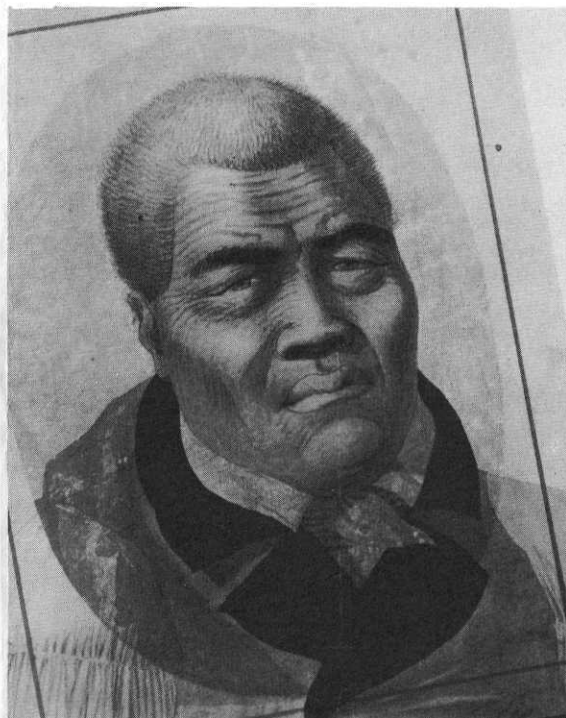


Fig. 10. Composite photograph, superimposing the portrait in the black cloak over the portrait in the red vest.



Linecut A. Reconstructed sketchbook page used at the morning sitting.

Linecut B. Composite drawing superimposing a tracing of the oval portrait over one of the king in the red vest. Traced from the originals.



hameha, still clothed in the costume he had chosen to be portrayed in, left the house where the sitting had taken place to receive the Russian on shore. From then on, von Kotzebue was guided on a round of events that he records in his book, and that may be cross-checked in de Chamisso's independent account. As what von Kotzebue did and saw on that day bears on our problem, we shall follow him briefly through his crowded rounds.

After drinking their mutual health in Kamehameha's house, the king and the captain talked amicably of the unpleasant behaviour of previous Russian guests, both of them deploring it. They then settled the all-important question of provisions. Followed a visit to the favorite queen, Kaahumanu, and another visit, less appreciated, to the king's son and heir, Liholiho.

At long length, the delayed meal of kalua pig was served to the visitors, with Kamehameha merely watching them. This was followed by a visit to the nearby heiau, in pagan thanksgiving for the peace made secure. Said von Kotzebue, "When the king is in his murai no one is allowed to enter; but we admired in the meantime the colossal wooden idols." The wait allowed the untiring Choris to do there some of his best work: views of the sanctuary, 12 and 13-1; individual sculptures, 3-1 and 4.

Back to the king's house where it was Kamehameha's turn to eat, watched by the explorers. After dinner, the king detailed what provisions von Kotzebue would receive on Oahu, after which diplomatic presents were exchanged.

It was only now, as the last event listed before the final leave taking, that von Kotzebue mentioned how the king sat to Choris, "The skill of our draughtsman, who had sketched some of the chiefs in a most happy manner and very quickly, was admired even by Tammeamea, but who a long time resisted my entreaties to have himself, as they say here, put upon paper, probably fearing some enchantment, and it was only when I told him that our emperor would be glad to have his portrait that he consented to it."

The fact that there were two sittings seems to have passed unnoticed; yet every other moment of von Kotzebue's stay on shore may be accounted for. Would he have invented of whole cloth a late afternoon sitting, simply to claim for himself a part of the goodwill that did result from the morning venture? He may have exaggerated somewhat his own initiative in the matter, and stressed the reluctance of the king, but among the circumstances he recounts, at least one is incompatible with the mood of the first sitting. That morning, Choris found the king very willing, "I asked Tammeamea permission to do his portrait; this prospect seemed to please him very much." That afternoon, von Kotzebue found the king most unwilling, "Tammeamea . . . a long time resisted my entreaties to have himself . . . put upon paper."

It is credible that, when von Kotzebue pleaded so forcefully for the king to pose for Choris, he knew nothing as yet of the morning sitting. Choris, hoping to do better than before, would see no reason to interfere. As to the king, he frankly felt restless, "Mr. Choris succeeded admirably well in taking his likeness, although Tammeamea, to make it more difficult, would not sit still for a moment, but was making grimaces all the time" wrote von Kotzebue.

What was done at the afternoon sitting?

The incised lines that 'roughen up' the oval portrait are a complex of at least two distinct sets of lines. Both recognizable sets are tracing lines, made by Choris when transferring the king's portrait to some other surface. In the Academy collection there are other examples of his use of the method: No. 6-7, "Kadou, natif des Iles Carolines . . .", for example, where the tracing was done from the finished painting, the scratched lines plowing a white furrow over the dark watercolor washes.

One of the two sets of tracing lines seen on the Kamehameha portrait also shows white on dark, and was worked over the finished picture. This was a tracing of the king in Hawaiian costume. Minor departures from the painted version—a neck more thickly set, an even wider V to the opening of the cloak—agree with the lithograph of the king in the black cloak in Choris' published folio. This tracing dates then from his return to Europe, when he transferred the portrait, with variations, from paper to stone.

Of greater interest for the present study is an earlier tracing, one that preceded the substantial repainting of the portrait as we see it today. The lines of this tracing show up dark on light: as the wet pigment was brushed over the already scratched surface, it saturated the furrows with deepened hues. This early transfer was of the king in European clothes.

As we have seen, it is probable that the thorough repainting of the oval portrait dates from the few days that the *Rurick* anchored at Honolulu. To be still earlier, the tracing should be practically simultaneous with the making of the drawing itself.

A third likeness that Choris painted of Kamehameha is the famous watercolor of the king in the red vest. It is known to have been painted from life, though there is some uncertainty as to which one of the paintings of this type in existence is the long sought after 'original'.

Outstanding is the version owned by Bruce Cartwright Jr. (Fig. 9). Painted with extreme delicacy on a full sheet of Whatman paper watermarked 1813, it is undoubtedly from Choris' hand. The sheet once was folded in two, resulting in a vertical crease visible on the photograph.

Besides the distinct clothes and the ampler spacing, an obvious difference between the watercolor of Kamehameha in the black cloak and that in the red vest is a matter of plumb. The king in red vest is set awry on the page, shoulders tilting downwards to the left, with the axis of the head correspondingly on a slant. In contrast, the portrait with the black cloak is poised straight within the rectangular frame that Choris carefully ruled around it. The axis of the head remains true to plumb. (see Fig. 7)

In the course of this study, as I joined back into their relative positions the sketch of the woman and the oval portrait, a perceptible rocking tilt to the left had to be given the oval to fit on the reconstructed sketchbook page. It struck me that, in so doing, the head in the oval acquired the slant seen in the portrait with the red vest (see linecut A). It suggested a common root for both watercolors.

A further step was to trace each portrait, and superimpose the tracings into a composite (linecut B. Also composite photograph Fig. 10). The diagram

includes the rectangular frame that Choris ruled around the oval portrait, and the vertical crease in the Whatman sheet on which is painted the portrait in the red vest. Acting as plumb lines, they help visualize the rocking tilt that started this enquiry.

The composite diagram and photograph show how the watercolor of Kamehameha in the red vest was washed over the linear framework, borrowed by tracing, of the first state of the oval portrait. In the outline of the head and all particulars of the features, the two pictures that go to make the composite merge into one. The lineal 'ghost' of European clothing hidden in the oval portrait neatly fits over the red vest version, but the latter shows minor variations, and is more elaborated. Only where both tracings are superposed—within the oval area—can this concordancy be checked. The parts of the portrait in the red vest that stand alone may well be a cue to that part of the oval portrait lost when the sketchbook page was cut apart, on Oahu.

All known facts are reconciled. In preparation for the afternoon sitting, Choris transferred the outlines of the oval portrait in its first state—with its slant and its vest—to a virgin sheet of paper, decorously centering his subject this time. The painter indeed could—as happen it did—dazzle his captain with his speed and accuracy, for his task at this second sitting would have been mostly that of filling in with local colors the excellent outline already arrived at that morning.

Perhaps the king's contortions, that von Kotzebue gravely assigned to magical fears, were after all little more than substantial winks at Choris, whose secret the king shared!

From Hawaii, the *Rurick* went to Oahu for provisioning and repairs, anchoring at Honolulu. An event of its stay was the visit aboard of Kamehameha's vice-regent for the island, Kalanimoku, and his retinue. Wrote von Kotzebue, "They immediately recognized Tammeamea's portrait, and when it became known that we had Tammeamea on paper, we daily received a crowd of visitors who wished to see him."

Wrote de Chamisso, "The very lifelike portrait of Tameiameia that had been done by Choris made a great hit. They all recognized it and were much pleased."

De Chamisso went on to tell the story of John Young and the sketchbook page. This episode was told in an aside, "I must not forget to mention . . ." and was stated to have been carried on *sub rosa*. It cannot be confused with the display of a Kamehameha portrait that met with social success. While the John Young incident fits all the evidence concerned with the oval portrait, the likeness of the king that was an instant hit can only be the watercolor with the red vest. It is the only one of the two portraits that had been finished in Hawaii. The oval portrait came into existence as we see it now as a result of old Young's advice, given on Oahu. The portrait in the red vest also fits what de Chamisso goes on to state, "Choris left several copies of this very successful portrait here. Upon arriving in Manila the following year [1817] the American merchants had already secured this picture and had had it copied for the trade. Choris took back with him to Europe a copy of this Chinese work."

To conclude, let us compare in terms of human values the two main painted versions of Kamehameha's portrait, the one with the black cloak and the one with the red vest. Huc-M. Luquiens proves to be a keen psychologist when he writes, "Choris had been horrified by the king's European costume. He had felt that the much talked of Hawaiian king should appear in Hawaiian dress. He still balked at the red waistcoat and in his own book undertook to be rid of it, substituting the . . . black cloak." What is described here as a psychological process is expressly backed by the physical evidence that the oval portrait yields. This portrait, on which much labor was spent, was the first version of the king's head that really pleased Choris, the only one of the two sketches done at the morning sitting that he cared to acknowledge openly. It also was the dark matrix out of which had emerged the more colorful and widely admired watercolor of the king in the red vest. The portrait in the black cloak remained the painter's favorite, combining as it did what objective facts came out of the first sitting with the artist's own deeply felt, previously experienced, emotions. Naturally, it is the head that Choris chose to draw on the lithographic stone for his own publication.

Von Kotzebue, on the other hand, had missed the majestic scene at dawn with which the oval picture is intimately tied. He had never had an opportunity to see the king in Hawaiian costume. From his point of view, the more successful portrait was that of the king in the red vest. It showed Kamehameha as von Kotzebue had known him, and was executed at the afternoon sitting that the Russian captain had both engineered and witnessed. Naturally, it was this portrait that von Kotzebue chose to have engraved for his own published report of the expedition.

IMMIGRANT CHINESE SOCIETIES IN HAWAII

TIN-YUKE CHAR

WHENEVER A LARGE NUMBER OF CHINESE were thrown together in an overseas community they at once formed associations for the control, protection, and general welfare of their members. They aimed to assist the newly-arrived, to protect each other in a strange land where there was no consular representative to whom they might appeal for advice or protection, to provide a respectable funeral for members, to settle disputes among members, and to keep alive old world traditions and customs. Here is engendered the "wah kiu" or Chinese sojourner idea of a temporary stay in a foreign country to earn enough money to retire to China and enjoy a higher social and economic status.

For historical background, there is appended to this paper a list of thirty-seven immigrant Chinese societies in Hawaii, omitting political societies and such miscellaneous ones as literary clubs, physical culture clubs, dramatic clubs, penman's club, etc.

In any overseas Chinese community, whether Singapore, Manila, Peru or Cuba, the chief Chinese community organization is the United Chinese Society, also known as the Chinese Benevolent Association. In San Francisco, it is known under the picturesque name of the Six Companies. It is an over-all organization, functioning to maintain order, protest violation of Chinese civil rights, aid the destitute, and raise funds for China and local relief. Another phase of activity may be in the politics of the home country, as in the support given Dr. Sun Yat Sen for the overthrow of the Manchu Dynasty. This representative, central organization is an adaptive organization, supplanting or supplementing existing organized groups.

A number of minor societies are formed along regional divisions according to village or district (hsien) whence the immigrant came. Nearly all maintain club houses with bachelor quarters for the aged or needy within their own membership. Also, the clubs have had rental units for income to support their social and welfare activities.

Then, there are a few societies based on dialectal variances, such as the See Yup and Hakka-speaking groups.

The Chinese family system has been widely described in sociological literature. In the Chinese family there is present a strong feeling of belonging to a social group with responsibility to all one's kin. The patriarchal dominance of the oldest male concedes his power over his adult children, and there is formal subordination of women and children. With such an ideological background, immigrants with the same common surnames naturally grouped themselves into

family clan organizations. There are in Honolulu six such clan societies, and recently efforts have been made to organize a few more.

Among the trade and occupational clubs, the most important is the Honolulu Chinese Chamber of Commerce, formerly the Chinese Merchant's Association. It represents the Chinese community in its relation to the other community groups. The stated objectives of this chamber are "to inspire a sense of civic responsibility and an active interest in all community affairs, to promote Chinese commerce in Hawaii and assist in the development of China's commerce, to inculcate justice and equitable principles in trade, to arbitrate differences between its members, to exchange and disseminate commercial information, and to promote the welfare of the Chinese people in Hawaii." Leadership is from younger Chinese-speaking members, and meetings are conducted in English as well as in Chinese. In addition to the Chamber, there are guilds for carpenters, general workers, fish dealers, butchers, seamen, cooks and waiters, actors and musicians, dressmakers, and tailors. Many of the members retain their interest in these clubs although they may have graduated into other jobs or positions. An example is the seamen's guild which continues in existence although the trade is no longer extant with the passing of the inter-island steamers on which the seamen guild members had been cooks and stewards.

Fraternal societies were the secret, sworn-brotherhood societies with rituals and ceremonies. Organized in China for the overthrow of the Manchus and the return of the Ming Dynasty Chinese rulers, these secret societies spread out into overseas Chinese communities under various names of Hung Men, Three Dots or Triads, or Chinese Freemasons. The warlike tongs on the mainland were originally these secret societies grown wild. When their activities became illegal in the fields of opium and white-slavery, they could not take internal disputes to American courts of justice and had to settle with tong wars. Those in Hawaii remained peaceful, enjoying fraternal fellowship and revelling in the pageantry of secret rituals as do other masons.

There are certain characteristics common to all the societies:

1. The emphasis has been on owning a building for headquarters and for income to carry expenses. There is an estimated worth of properties in the territory of \$2,000,000 belonging to Chinese societies. Most of these are along Vineyard, Kukui, and Liliha Streets.

2. Purposes common to all were: to build fellowship, to provide recreational outlets, to help each other in a strange land, to assist the unemployed and sick, and to bury the dead with respect.

3. There were no societies for women only. Traditional Chinese thinking deemed women inferior.

4. The family is the social nucleus of Chinese clan societies. The central source of motivation in Chinese private and social life is the family.

5. Most of these society groups illustrate an attempt to withdraw from participation in inter-racial community clubs or activities, and to cling to self-imposed cultural and social isolation.

6. Were it not for the ownership of society buildings with income units, many of the societies would have died natural deaths.

Significantly, the very fact that certain of these societies have become inactive points toward the desired growth of a mature community. In a closely-knit community, the greater the barriers of discrimination, the more enduring these societies will be.

The younger generation in Hawaii's happier social climate, however, increasingly challenges the negative attitude of a segregated community. They have been rapidly acculturated to the American way of life. World War II has hastened the assimilation. No longer are the immigrants mere sojourners (wah kiu) but individuals rooted in Hawaii to stay. The public schools have encouraged the conception of each person as a full-fledged member of a free and democratic society. He is more disposed to speak for his individual rights. Increasing recognition throughout the community that the various immigrant groups have come of age and that the individual must be judged on his own merits rather than on the basis of his racial ancestry break down the need for social withdrawal. The immigrant societies should rightfully belong to a colorful past, having served their true needs.

IMMIGRANT CHINESE SOCIETIES IN HAWAII

I Representative

United Chinese Society

II Regional

A. Hsien or district:

1. Kong Chau Society

2. Chung Shan Benevolent Association, 1950

a. By "doo" or precinct:

1. Lung Doo Benevolent Society, 1885

2. See Dai Doo Society, 1906

3. Leong Doo Society, 1907

4. Duck Doo Society, 1906

5. Wong Leong Doo group under name of Chuck Sin Tong, 1906

6. Kung Sheong Doo Society, 1930

7. Gook Doo group under name of Oo Sack Kee Loo, 1897

b. By villages:

1. On Tong Villagers Club, 1926

2. Lung Tau Wan Villagers Club, 1926

3. Wai Bok Say, 1927

4. Siu Yun Villagers Club, 1921

5. Yung Wo Tong

III Dialectal:

A. See Yup Society, 1897

B. Yi Yee Tong, 1901

C. Tsung Tsin Society, 1925

IV Family Clan:

- A. Lau, Quon, Chong, Chu — under name of Lung Kong Kung Shaw, 1919
- B. Lum — under name of Lum Sai Ho Tong, 1889
- C. Wong — under name of Wong Kong Ha Tong, 1906
- D. Chun — under name of Chun Wing Chin Tong
- E. Mau — under name of Mau Association, 1931
- F. Ching — under name of On Kai Say, 1931

V Trade or Occupational:

- A. Chinese Chamber of Commerce, 1912
- B. United Chinese Labor Association, 1915
- C. Carpenters Guild, 1902
- D. Wing Lock Fish Dealers Guild, 1903
- E. Butchers Association, 1928
- F. Seamen's Guild, 1903
- G. Cooks and Waiters Guild, 1901
- H. Actors and Musicians Guild, 1922
- I. Dressmakers Guild, 1904
- J. Tailors Guild, 1904

VI Fraternal:

- A. Chee Kung Tong, 1860
- B. Ket On Society, 1869
- C. Bo Yee Tong, 1860

THE NIGHT AT MAHAULEPU

ERIC A. KNUDSEN

Related to the Kauai Historical Society, December 1, 1952.

SOME TIME AGO I related to this Society the story of the fight at Mahaulepu. Since then I have read a story by my brother in the 1914 edition of Thrum's Hawaiian Annual, also a story by J. M. Lydgate in the 36th Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society for the year 1927 in which he takes issue with the A. F. Knudsen story of 1914. In the 45th Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society for the year 1936, Mr. Stokes, (page 30) gives quite a long story on battle mortality and Kamehameha's defeat on Kauai.

All tell a good story. But here is the account as told to me in 1895 by my father:

All of the writers talk of thousands of skulls lying bleaching in the sand dunes. Of course, there are many there. There were no pickaxes and shovels in those days, and the graves were probably dug out by hand in the soft sand dunes; and when a strong wind from the north (the kiu), or the south wind (the kona), blew away the sand, the old graves came to the surface. I have seen them for years out at Mana and in the sand dunes of Koloa. So when my father was unable to find perfect skulls at Mahaulepu to send to the Smithsonian Institute as he desired, he managed to pick up a few out towards Mana.

Bones do not last long if exposed to the elements; and in a short space of time all the small bones would turn to dust. This bears out the story that was told to me that when my father went to get the skulls a Mahaulepu he found they were all rotted away.

In later years I have ridden all over the flat lands and dunes of that area and looked at the oceanside and places where canoes could land; and I'm still inclined to think that there was not a major battle fought there. The story is told that the big invading fleet which Kamehameha sent forth to conquer Kauai was frightfully damaged by gales and had to return to Honolulu. How much more plausible to think that only a small number of canoes under the leadership of someone who knew the shore landed on a small beach on the north end of the dunes! They were most likely exhausted with the severe gale they had been fighting and, pulling up their canoes, lay down and slept. Being badly disorganized, they perhaps even failed to station a guard, or he may have been so tired he also fell asleep.

A few years ago I had the pleasure of driving cattle at Kawaihae on Hawaii with my nephew Ronald von Holt, who had acquired the Kahua Ranch. He told me there was a family in Kawaihae who had told him that one of their ancestors was in charge of one of the war canoes of Kamehameha's fleet and that he and a few others had put in at the seemingly safe harbor at Koloa to

rest, but while they slept a mob of fierce men attacked and killed most of them. Luckily the invaders' canoes were nearby and the survivors managed to launch them and fled out to sea. Fearing the wrath of Kamehameha, it is probable that they paddled continuously until they reached Kawaihae. They had paddled about 400 miles and were exhausted. They then hid their canoes among some bushes and scattered.

This story corresponds with the one I heard in 1895.

NOTES ON KAUAI HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 1952

THE KAUAI HISTORICAL SOCIETY met four times in 1952, once to discuss the proposed Natural History Museum at Kokee, at another time to see slides and to hear a recorded talk on excavations at Kuliouou on Oahu by Dr. Kenneth P. Emory of the Bishop Museum, and for local programs on Waimea and Koloa. Identification of sites on old maps continues.

The listing of artifacts in private collections on the island undertaken by Miss Mary Stacey of the Bishop Museum in the early summer aroused much interest. Copies of lists were supplied individual owners and the Kauai Historical Society and filed also at the Bishop Museum. It is hoped this work may be continued another year, for there are many small collections as yet untouched.

The building at the Ranger Station, Kokee, assigned by the Bureau of Agriculture and Forestry for the Natural History Museum, will be ready by April 1, 1953. In the meantime under the leadership of Mrs. Ruth Knudsen Hanner special committees are at work on exhibits illustrating plants, insects, shells, birds and animals, and geology of the area. The financing of the project will be by a plan similar to that used by the Hui O Pele at the Kilauea Volcano, a fee of one dollar enrolling one as a member of the Hui O Laka, Laka being the goddess of the woods and hence appropriate as the ruling deity of a Natural History Museum. Larger gifts for specific purposes will be sought later. Every effort will be made to have the displays scientifically accurate as well as tastefully arranged, though simple as befits a People's Museum.

HISTORICAL NOTES

Juliette May Fraser's "Ke Anuenue" (The Rainbow) published by the University of Hawaii Press in 1952 was selected by the American Institute of Graphic Arts to receive one of the "Fifty Books of the Year" awards. The superb illustrations contrast the old with the new and, combined with the text, tell a vivid story of Hawaii.

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An authoritative article on "The Evolution of Hawaiian Orthography" by C. M. Wise and Wesley Hervey appeared in the Quarterly Journal of Speech for October, 1952.

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The Hawaiian Mission Children's Society held its one hundredth annual meeting in Honolulu on April 19, 1952. To mark the passing of its first century, the Society has published a history of those years written by Charlotte Peabody Dodge.

* * * *

An eighty-cent parcels post stamp which shows Diamond Head in lavender was issued by the United States Post Office in March, 1952. The suggestion for such a denomination, sufficient for a pound of air borne freight, came from Mr. Y. Hirose, a shipper of flowers to the mainland. Previous stamps from Hawaii were the Captain Cook stamp of 1928 and the Kamehameha stamp of 1937.

SOCIETY PUBLICATIONS

Members of the Society are entitled to receive the current Annual Reports and to purchase all publications at one third discount.

Non-members receive one third discount on bulk purchases of \$15.00 or more.

Sets from 1893 to date, except for a few missing numbers which are now out of print, can be made up. Address inquiries to The Librarian, P.O. Box 2596, Honolulu 3, Hawaii, or telephone 5-7270.

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

Through the kindness of the authors, the Society is privileged to offer:

The Kumulipo, by Martha W. Beckwith, for \$6.00 (publisher's price).

Na Himene Hawaii, by Ethel M. Damon, for \$1.00.

MINUTES OF THE 61st ANNUAL MEETING OF THE HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The annual meeting of the Hawaiian Historical Society was held on Thursday evening, February 26, 1953, with President Ann H. Corbett presiding.

Reading of the minutes of the last annual meeting was waived as they were printed in the annual report.

The Treasurer presented his annual report which was accepted, ordered placed on file and printed in the annual report.

The report of the Librarian was read, accepted and ordered placed on file.

President Corbett submitted the report of the President, giving a resumé of the year's activities and mentioning the fact that The Honorable Samuel Wilder King, long a member of the Society, had been appointed Governor of Hawaii.

Mrs. Jon Wiig presented the report of the Nominating Committee, recommending the following:

President, Meiric K. Dutton.

Trustees, Janet Bell, George Armitage, George Bacon, Eleanor Prendergast, Maude Jones.

This report was adopted and the Secretary instructed to cast the ballot. The ballot having been cast, the following persons were elected:

President, for one year, Meiric K. Dutton.

Trustees: Janet Bell, George Armitage, George Bacon, Eleanor Prendergast, Maude Jones.

Mr. Dutton gave a brief talk, followed by his reading a paper on Hoapili written by Andrew Forest Muir.

Mr. Jean Charlot gave a most interesting talk on the portraits of Kamehameha I, illustrated with slides.

The meeting was then adjourned.

MAUDE JONES, *Recording Secretary*

MEETING OF OCTOBER 9, 1952

An open meeting of the Hawaiian Historical Society was held on Thursday evening, October 9, 1952.

The program marked the centennial of the arrival of Chinese immigrants to Hawaii in 1852. Meiric K. Dutton read pertinent contemporaneous articles in *The Polynesian* and Tin Yuke Char spoke on Immigrant Chinese Societies in Hawaii. Special guests from the Chinese community attended.

REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE
HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

You have heard the report of the Treasurer, Mr. Young, and I am sure you agree with me that the notable event of the year is the completion of our share of the payment for the library building in which we are meeting. For this we must give full credit to Mr. Young who provided the momentum and energy to solve this most pressing problem.

In this connection it might be well to take notice of the need for an equally happy solution to our other financial responsibilities. We must at least double our annual income in order to meet our annual expenses. Our obligation toward the small band of scholars and enthusiasts who avail themselves of our library must be fulfilled. Unfortunately the popular current trend which solves such problems by "eliminating waste and mismanagement" cannot meet our needs. The salary which we pay our librarian — the largest single item in our budget — is woefully inadequate for the skill and devoted interest which is given in return. The share which we pay toward the upkeep of this building is probably less than it should be. The investment in building up the library collection is almost negligible. What is the solution?

It appears to me obvious that the problem should not be the responsibility of your treasurer alone but should be shared by each member of the Society. There are doubtless many solutions, but two that occur to me are: first, opening a new class of supporting membership for laymen (like myself possibly) who feel that such an organization is needed but who have not the aptitude or time to make great use of it. This might encourage those people to join who have perhaps felt it a selective and high-brow group. The second possibility is to sponsor special programs for which there could be a fee. This is the sort of thing done constantly by other organizations and would for that reason have to be carefully chosen and planned. However, you all have other ideas and better ones, no doubt. It remains for you to put them to work and so solve our financial problems.

I would like to note with special pride the appointment of one of our ex-Presidents as Governor of the Territory. He served this organization with distinction as he has all groups with which he has worked. There appears to be Territory-wide rejoicing at the appointment of Samuel Wilder King, our President for 1946. May I suggest that the membership indicate by a rising vote their wish to send Governor-Designate King a letter expressing our pride in him and our satisfaction at his appointment.

I feel perhaps I should not close without offering an apology to the membership for a repeated two months' absence this year. I fear my urge to make history rather than study it is all too evident and makes me a less than adequate officer of the Society. However, it has given me a better understanding of the need of such a group, and as a member I may be of greater service. Thanks to the Trustees who have carried on and to the Librarian for her outstanding service and to the members who have contributed in many ways to the successful 1952 season.

Respectfully submitted,

ANN H. CORBETT, *President*

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

THE PRESIDENT, THE TRUSTEES
AND MEMBERS OF
THE HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Attached hereto is my report for the calendar year 1952.

Receipts, other than those earmarked for specific purposes, amounted to \$1,729.49 (of which, however, only \$873 represented dues), and expenses of operating the Society amounted to \$2,269.04, leaving an operating deficit of \$539.55. It is obvious that this situation can not continue. Unless our membership and our dues are substantially increased, the Society faces the inevitability of finding itself without sufficient funds to carry on.

Gifts to the Building Fund during 1952 were substantial and I am happy to report that our debt to the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society for our share of the cost of the building of the Library was paid in full in January.

Substantial funds were given the Society for necessary research in connection with the forthcoming biography of Governor Sanford Ballard Dole.

I present the statement for the year for your consideration, subject to such audit as you may wish.

Respectfully submitted,

A. C. YOUNG, *Treasurer*

TREASURER'S REPORT FOR CALENDAR YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1952

RECEIPTS

Dues	\$ 873.00	
Contributions: Book Fund	20.00	
Building Fund	3,253.00	
General Fund	560.00	
S. B. Dole Biography Research	2,200.00	
Dividends: Pac. Gas & Elec. Co., Pfd.	75.00	
The von Hamm Young Co., Pfd.	63.77	
Interest: Bishop Nat'l Bank, Sav. a/c	31.75	
U. S. Savings Bond	12.50	
Sale of Publications	113.47	\$7,202.49

DISBURSEMENTS

Salary — Librarian.....	\$1,200.00	
Books Purchased	23.50	
Dues — Hawn. Vol. Research Assn.....	3.00	
Calif. Historical Society.....	10.00	
S. B. Dole Biography Research.....	2,200.00	
Hawn. Mission Children's Society:		
Share of upkeep.....	300.00	
On account Pledge — Building Fund.....	1,000.00	
Bishop Trust Co. — Rental Safe Deposit Box.....	6.00	
Postage	21.07	
Printing and Supplies.....	591.24	
Rental of chairs.....	13.00	
Repairs — Office Equipment	35.00	
Steel Shelving unit installed.....	41.45	
Subscription — Pacific Historical Review.....	4.00	
Taxes paid — Soc. Sec. tax (Employer).....	18.00	
Terr. 2% Div. Tax.....	2.78	
Deposit — Bishop National Bank, Sav. a/c #8043.....	31.75	5,500.79
		<hr/>
		\$1,701.70

Cash in Checking Account — January 1, 1952.....	462.46
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CASH IN CHECKING ACCOUNT—Dec. 31, 1952....	<u>\$2,164.16</u>
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SUMMARY OF CASH ACCOUNT

Cash on Hand — Petty Cash Fund.....	\$ 25.00
Cash in Bank — Checking Account.....	2,164.16
Cash in Bank — Savings Account.....	2,140.81
	<hr/>
	<u>\$4,329.97</u>

INVESTMENTS

75 shares The von Hamm Young Co., Ltd., 4¼% Cum. Pfd.

50 " Pacific Gas & Electric Co., Pfd.

\$500 U. S. Savings Bond — Series G

Special Book Fund	\$70.00	Present Balance	\$10.65
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REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

The Librarian's report is an offering of gratitude to many donors who have enriched our collections and advanced the work of the library.

Original source material has come to us through two sources: from Dr. Kenneth P. Emory, a journal of Mary Ann Wilson (Mrs. Lorrin Andrews); and from Mrs. Victor Thompson of Grimsby, Ontario, letters which were written to Bishop T. N. Staley by Lady Franklin, Charles Darwin, David Kalakaua, and King Kamehameha V.

A gift from a friend who wishes to remain anonymous has brought us three of the ten scheduled volumes of the "Larkin Papers," official correspondence of Thomas Oliver Larkin, influential merchant and the only United States Consul to Mexican California.

Mrs. Dean Acheson has sent us her own resumé of the life of her grandfather, Thomas Mix Stanley, known here as the painter of the portraits of King Kamehameha III and Queen Kalama; also a comprehensive article by Robert Taft on the life and works of this eminent painter of American Indians. Mrs. Acheson tells us that as Mr. Stanley had no canvases in Hawaii large enough for the portraits, he used some of the royal linen tablecloths which he sized himself.

Dr. Frank Pleadwell presented us with his essay read before the Social Science Association on June 2, 1952, on *The Voyage to England of King Libolihio and Queen Kamamalu*.

Mrs. Charles Bent has given us a choice possession in the first edition of the hymnal in Hawaiian printed on Oahu by the Mission Press in 1823, bound in turtle shell covers together with another rare publication, the second edition of the Tahitian hymnal, printed in Tahiti by the Windward Mission Press in 1822.

The Honolulu Academy of Arts, dispersing books from an estate, turned over to us 34 items of historical interest. Local organizations and individuals have sent publications too numerous to list, among them City and County and Territorial offices, the University of Hawaii Library, Bishop Museum, and religious, industrial, and political organizations. Special thanks are owing to the University of Hawaii Press which generously contributes one copy of each of its publications. Members and non-members have added to our collections: Misses Damon, Jones, Judd, and Mrs. Handy; Mr. H. L. Damron, head of the Postal Transportation Service in Hawaii, and Mr. Harry Zen, editor of the Hawaiian Chinese Journal.

Through the kindness of Mr. E. B. MacNaughton of Portland, Oregon, we have been introduced to Mr. R. C. Brummer of that city who has presented to us copies of papers published in Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Hampshire during the years 1819-1824, and 1843-1845 containing articles concerning the Sandwich Islands.

Several members have devised new and original ways of aiding our society financially through gifts and services. Miss Martha Beckwith has donated 50 copies of her scholarly work *The Kumulipo* to be sold for the benefit of the Society; Miss Ethel Damon, surplus copies of her monograph, *Na Himene Hawaii*. Mr. Arthur Alexander, Mr. James Hunnewell, and the Librarian of the

Honolulu Municipal Library have returned some of our own old publications, several now out of print, which can be disposed of to collectors. Mrs. Mary Muraoka donated her time to cutting stencils, mimeographing, and assembling a price list of our publications. Mr. Penrose Morris brought in his typed list of the catalogued material of the Hawaiian Historical Society as it stood in 1930.

The Librarian is collecting reproductions of pictures of the Hawaiian scene currently being made by local and visiting artists. Color photographs, prints of water colors and oils have come to us from the Hawaiian Service of Mr. and Mrs. Armitage, United Air Lines, and the Pacific Gas and Electric Company.

An important gift of another order is that of a bust of Sanford Ballard Dole, willed to our Society by Judge Dole, and recently brought to us by Mrs. Clorinda Lucas. This excellent likeness, modeled by Allan Hutchinson, is fragile, being still in plaster form, and has been installed for safety in the vault among the books Judge Dole helped to collect.

To turn, now, from what we have received to what we have given. During 1952 there were 401 visits of research workers to our library, an advance of 83 over the preceding year. The use of our early newspapers has been noteworthy. There have been 45 calls for 11 different papers. There has been a marked interest in biography. It has been a pleasure also to help artists obtain factual data upon which to build their pictorial comment on Hawaiian history.

Finally, in addition to the routine re-cataloguing of the books, the Librarian has prepared a price list of our Society's publications to send to collectors, and a single sheet about the history and purposes of the Society to give to visitors and correspondents. With Miss Judd, she has written an article on the Mission-Historical Library which was published in the Hawaii Library Association Journal, November, 1952.

The Librarian would like to designate much needed equipment which should be purchased as soon as finances permit: a screen on which to project slides; an exhibit case for rare publications, and new bindings for books now unfit for use.

Respectfully submitted,

WILLOWDEAN C. HANDY, *Librarian*

LIST OF MEMBERS

September 15, 1953

HONORARY

Kuykendall, Ralph S.

LIFE

Alexander, Mary C.
Ashford, Marguerite K.
Baker, Ray Jerome
Beckwith, Martha W.
Cades, J. Russell
Cades, Milton
Cooke, Mrs. Maud B.
Cooke, Mrs. Theodore A.
Cox, Joel B.
Damon, Ethel M.
Damon, Mary M.
Hoyt, Simes T.
Hoyt, Mrs. Simes T.
Judd, Bernice
Judd, Walter F.

McMahon, Mrs. James
Midkiff, Frank E.
Midkiff, Robert R.
Mitchell, Donald
Moses, Alphonse L.
Phillips, James Tice
Phillips, Stephen W.
Pukui, Mrs. Mary Kawena
Robinson, Mark A.
Sinclair, Gregg M.
Spaulding, Thomas Marshall
Von Holt, Mrs. Herman
Waterhouse, John T.
White, Mrs. Robert E.
Wilcox, Gaylord P.

SUSTAINING

Towill, Roswell M.

CONTRIBUTING

Anthony, J. Garner
Awai, George E. K.
Bent, Mrs. Charles
Bickerton, Mrs. Agnes C.
Bond, B. Howell
Bowen, Mrs. Alice Spalding
Caldwell, Mrs. Henry
Carter, Mrs. Reginald H.
Castle, Alfred L.
Cooke, George P.
Cooke, Mrs. George P.
*Cooke, J. Platt
Dutton, Meiric K.

Greene, Ernest W.
Greenwell, Mrs. Arthur L.
Handy, E. S. Craighill
Jones, Maude
Kahananui, Mrs. Dorothy M.
Lee, Dr. Robert C. H.
Russell, John E.
Soares, Oliver P.
Steadman, Mrs. Alva E.
Stickney, Joseph B.
Trent, Robert R.
Ward, A. L. Y.
Williams, Mrs. Edith B.

Young, Alfred C.

* Deceased

REGULAR

Ahrens, Wilhelmina I.
Akee, Mrs. Howard
Alexander, Arthur C.
Almond, Frank B.

Bacon, George E.
Bacon, Mrs. George E.
Bailey, Mrs. Alice Cooper
Bailey, Richard B.
Barry, John
Bell, Janet E.
Bergin, Mrs. W. C.
Blaisdell, James
Bradley, Harold W.
Brooks, Dorothy
Brown, George Ii
Bryan, Edwin H., Jr.
*Bryant, Mrs. Gerald

Carney, Mrs. J. J.
Carter, A. Hartwell
Cartwright, William Edward
Cloward, Dr. R. B.
Cogswell, W. O.
Conant, Melvin
Conrad, Agnes
Conroy, R. Hilary
Cooke, Charles M., III
Cooke, Mrs. Harrison R.
Cooper, Bryant
Corbett, Mrs. Gerald R.
Correa, Genevieve
Cox, Mrs. Isaac M.
Cummings, John E.

Doyle, Mrs. John F.
Dunn, Mrs. Clarence
Dutton, Mrs. Meiric K.

Ecke, Gustav
Ecke, Mrs. Gustav
Edwards, Webley
Emory, Kenneth P.

Fennell, Dolla
Field, Harry M.
Field, Mrs. Harry M.
Fielder, Kendall J.

Fleming, David T.
Fraser, Juliette May
*Fuller, George G.

Green, Caroline P.
Guard, Mrs. J. B.

Hague, James D.
Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Ass'n.
Herman, F. B.
Hinkley, Mrs. Vern
Hohu, Mrs. Martha Poepoe
Houston, Victor S. K.
Howard, Volney Ashley K.
Hughes, Henry T., Jr.
Hull, Lonnie
Humme, Charles W.
Hunnewell, James M.
Hunter, Charles H.
Henry E. Huntington Library

Irwin, Margaret S.

Jabulka, Mrs. Jan
*Jaggat, Thomas A.
Johnson, Donald D.

Kamehameha School for Boys Library
Kamehameha School for Girls Library
Kapu, Sam
Katsuki, Dr. S. S.
Keller, Arthur R.
Kent, Harold W.
Kiilehua, Samuel M.
Kimball, George P.
King, Robert D.
King, Samuel Wilder
Krauss, Noel L. H.
Kumalae, Mrs. Vivian Kekona

Larsen, Dr. Nils P.
Larsen, Mrs. Nils P.
Leebrick, K. C.
Love, Addison
Lucas, Mrs. Clorinda Low

MacArthur, D. M.
Macaulay, Gordon
McClellan, Mrs. Esther
MacIntyre, Mrs. Malcolm

* Deceased

McWayne, Charles A., Sr.
 Marcus, A. G.
 Marder, Arthur J.
 Marshall, Mrs. Donald C.
 Marx, Benjamin L.
 Meurlott, Mrs. Louise P. Duvarchelle
 Miranda, George Halualani
 Mist, Herbert W. M.
 Molyneux, Mrs. Arthur V.
 Moore, Francis J.
 Morgan, Mrs. James P.
 Morse, Marion
 Musser, Joseph Wells
 Newberry Library
 Nickerson, Thomas

Oliphant, C. T.

Palmer, Harold S.
 Peterson, Margaret L.
 Pleadwell, Dr. Frank L.
 Podmore, Geoffrey
 Podmore, Mrs. Geoffrey
 Poole, Mrs. Alice F.
 Powell, Mrs. Ruth B.
 Provincial Archives, Victoria, B.C.

Radford, Arthur W.
 Rodiek, Eva Anita
 Ross, Mrs. E. A. R.

Sakamaki, Shunzo
 Schaefer, Gustav E.

Schubert, A. R.
 Scott, Mrs. Ranney
 Shower, Hazen
 Soper, William H.
 Stacey, Mary K.
 Stokes, John F. G.
 Stroven, Carl G.
 Sultan, Mrs. Edward D.
 Summers, Mrs. Richard I.
 Swenson, Mrs. Eric P.

Taylor, Mrs. Clarice B.
 Taylor, Stanley S.
 Taylor, William Bishop
 Thurston, Lorin P.
 Tracy, Clifton H.

University of Hawaii Press

Van Dyke, Robert
 Voorhees, George N.

Walker, Margaret
 Waterhouse, George S.
 Waterhouse, N. Warren
 Watson, Mrs. Lorna K. Iaukea
 Weight, Dr. Leslie A.
 Wiig, Jon
 Wiig, Mrs. Jon
 Williams, Robert T., Sr.
 Withington, Mrs. Arthur
 Wodehouse, Cenric N.
 Wodehouse, Ernest H.

ANNUAL

Ai, C. K.
 Anderson, Robbins B.
 Armitage, George T.

Billson, Marcus K.
 Brown, Zadoc White
 Budge, Alexander G.

Carter, Reginald H.
 Castle, Harold K. L.
 *Caum, Edward L.
 Chaffee, Mrs. William N.
 Charlot, Jean
 Christian, Mrs. George R.

Clark, T. Blake
 Clarke, Mrs. Adna G.
 Collins, George M.
 Corbett, Gerald R.

Day, A. Grove
 Dillingham, Mrs. Walter F.
 Dunkhase, Mrs. Carl

Elbert, Samuel H.
 Ewart, Arthur F.

Fisher, Gerald W.
 Fisher, Mrs. Gerald W.
 *Franckx, Father Valentin

* Deceased

Fraser, Mabel
 Frowe, Mrs. Chester
 Gadd, Mrs. Luther
 Grace Marian, Sister
 Grossman, Edward S.

* Halford, Dr. Francis J.
 Hall, Charlotte V.
 Handy, Mrs. E. S. Craighill
 Handy, Mrs. Willowdean C.
 Harris, Wray
 Hart, Mrs. Fritz
 Herr, Elmer
 Hughes, Mrs. Henry T., Jr.

Jenkins, Mrs. John T.
 Jenks, Mrs. Livingston
 Judd, Albert F., III
 Judd, Rev. Henry P.
 Judd, Lawrence M.

Kahale, Rev. Edward
 Kapu, Mrs. Samuel
 Kauai Historical Society
 King, W. H. D.

Lee, Dr. Shao Chang
 Lincoln, Mrs. William Ames
 Long, Oren E.

McClellan, Edwin North
 Maier, Mrs. Martha M.

Mann, James B.
 Mann, Mrs. James B.
 Mellen, Mrs. George
 Morris, Penrose C.
 Murphy, Thomas D.

Newman, Margaret E.
 Nye, Henry Atkinson
 Nye, Mrs. Henry Atkinson

Ohrt, Fred
 Okazaki, Linnea

Poire, Mrs. Gordon H.
 Prendergast, Eleanor K.

Rawlins, Millie F.
 Reist, Birdie
 Robinson, Russell Sinclair

Sevier, Randolph
 Smith, Arthur G.
 Sousa, Esther F.
 Sterns, Marjorie A.

Taylor, Mrs. William Bishop
 Titcomb, Margaret
 Tozzer, Alfred M.

Warinner, Emily V.
 Watanabe, Shichiro
 Wilson, Willard
 Winne, Jane L.

* Deceased

MEMBERSHIP DUES

Life Member	\$100
Sustaining Member	25 a year
Contributing Member	10 a year
Regular Member	5 a year

Make checks payable to The Hawaiian Historical Society and mail to P. O. Box 2596, Honolulu 3, Hawaii.

Names of persons whose dues are in arrears by more than one year do not appear in the Membership List. Reinstatement may be effected by contacting the Membership Committee.

MEMBERS OF KAUAI HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Compiled February 7, 1953

OFFICERS

<i>President</i>	ERIC A. KNUDSEN
<i>Vice-President</i>	MRS. THELMA H. OVERHOLSER
<i>Secretary-Treasurer</i>	MISS ELSIE H. WILCOX

HONORARY MEMBERS

Alexander, Arthur C.	Emory, Kenneth P.
Banks, Miss Rebecca E.	Jackson, Miss Pearl Reed
Buck, Mrs. Margaret	Kuykendall, Prof. Ralph S.
Damon, Miss Ethel M.	Leebrick, Dr. Karl C.

ANNUAL MEMBERS

Adams, Colonel Frank A.	Eckart, Robert C.
Alexander, William P.	Ecklund, Mrs. Klara
Alexander, Mrs. Alice B.	
Baldwin, Mrs. Kathryn	Faye, Alan E.
Barnes, William S.	Faye, Mrs. Jean B.
Barnes, Mrs. Ruth D.	Faye, Miss Isabel B.
Bingham, Albert L.	Fern, Charles J., Jr.
Bingham, Mrs. Albert L.	Fortner, Miss Margaret
Bishop, Herbert J., Jr.	French, Harry T.
Bishop, Mrs. Anna S.	French, Mrs. Harry T.
Boyden, Dr. A. W.	
Boyden, Mrs. Eleanor S.	Gay, Roland L.
Broadbent, Mrs. Marie	Gay, Mrs. Mary W.
	Gillin, E. T.
Childs, Jr., Clinton	Gillin, Mrs. Adena
Corstorphine, James B.	Goodale, Holbrook
Cox, Richard H.	
Crawford, Frank	Hanner, Mrs. Ruth K.
Crawford, Mrs. Mary W.	Harker, Charles A.
	Harker, Mrs. Charles A.
Danford, A. Harwood	Hensley, Miss Thelma
Davis, Miss Barbara	Hobby, Mrs. Eleanor C.
Dietrich, Miss Betsey (Deceased)	Hogg, Mrs. Isabelle J.

I, Gabriel

Kanna, Mrs. May K.
Knudsen, Eric A.
Knudsen, Mrs. Hazel

Lota, Abraham K.
Lovell, Enoka
Lovell, Mrs. Beatrice
Lyman, Mrs. Helen L.

Makanani, Mrs. Emily
Mant, Raymond F.
Mant, Mrs. Raymond F.
Marcallino, A. Q.
Marcallino, Mrs. Mina
Miller, Leslie E.
Miller, Mrs. Mildred
Moir, Eric
Moir, Hector McD.
Moir, Mrs. Alexandra K.
Moragne, William M.
Moragne, Mrs. Jean W.

Okamura, James T.
Orrick, Mrs. J. T.
Overholser, Mrs. Thelma H.

Plews, Mrs. Edith Rice

Rice, Arthur H., Jr.
Rice, Mrs. Elizabeth C.
Rice, Charles A.
Rice, Paul G.
Rice, Mrs. Kathryn O.
Rice, Philip L.
Rice, Mrs. Flora B.

Sanborn, Walter F.
Souza, Joseph M., Jr.
Stewart, Mrs. Julia

Thain, James D.

Ueno, Miss Irene

DeVeuve, Miss Laura

Waterhouse, Mrs. Mabel P.
Wedemeyer, Mrs. Henrietta M.
Wedemeyer, Henry C.
Wedemeyer, Mrs. Alice
Westlake, Mrs. Amanda
Wichman, Mrs. Juliet R.
Wilcox, Miss Elsie H.
Wilcox, Mrs. Louise S.
Wilcox, Miss Mabel I.
Wilcox, Samuel W.
Wilcox, Mrs. Edith K.
Williams, Mrs. Margaret

